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## Near East/South Asia Report



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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18 June 1985

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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

TEHRAN DIOCESAN COUNCIL SENDS LETTER TO UN SECRETARY GENERAL

Tehran ALIK in Armenian 27 Apr 85 pp 1,2

[Text] The Armenian Diocesan Council of Tehran has sent letters to the UN Secretary General, the European Parliament, the Organization of Nonaligned Countries, the Minority Rights Group and the UN Human Rights Center on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great Genocide of 1915. Below is one of the letters:

To: Javier Perez de Cuellar, Secretary General of the Organization of United Nations, New York.

Your Excellency,

On April 24, Armenians in all corners of the world will commemorate the genocide committed against the Armenian people by the Turkish government in 1915.

In 1915, in accordance with a plan, the Turkish government massacred 1.5 million Armenian men, women and children and forcibly uprooted 1 million Armenians from their traditional homeland.

This year's ceremonies to mark the 70th anniversary of those events will once again remind the world that crimes committed against humanity are intolerable and cannot remain unpunished. This will be underscored so that similar monstrous acts will not be repeated.

In the 70 years since the genocide, the Armenian people has appealed to successive Turkish governments through political and diplomatic channels to accept responsibility for the genocide. However, Turkey has consistently resisted our efforts for justice. Nevertheless, Turkey's attempts to suppress the struggle of the Armenian people for national self-determination have proven to be futile. Turkey has spent hundreds of millions of dollars to distort historical facts and to "rewrite" history and has thus made us more determined to pursue the cause of justice.

To this day the Turkish government has not confessed its guilt of implementing a genocide approved by the state and has not returned the Armenian lands that it has been holding illegally.

For several decades the Armenian people demanded its rights by marches, protests and demonstrations.

This year the Armenian people will do the same everywhere from the Middle East to Europe, from North and South America to the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, however, the continuation of the silence as a result of pressures from Turkey and its allies and the absence of an international court of justice have created conditions for the emergence of an Armenian armed struggle since 1975.

We assure you that the Armenian National Liberation Movement will continue its irrepressible struggle, using all possible peaceful means as well as armed operations, until justice is accorded to our oppressed people and until the Armenian lands seized by Turkey are liberated.

It is our sincere wish that your honorable organization will lend its moral support to the Armenian demands.

Respectfully, Levon Aharonian, Chairman, Armenian Diocesan Council of Tehran.

9588

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EGYPT

AL-AHALI REPORTS ON INTER-PARTY RELATIONS

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 24 Apr 85 p 5

[Article by Husayn 'Abd-al-Raziq: "In the Aftermath of Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din's Attack on the Grouping Party; The Truth about the Dispute between Us and the New Wafd; The Conflict between Kamal Hasan 'Ali and Rif'at al-Mahjub over the Prime Minister's Position Confuses All Issues; Why Did the Brave Souls Who Attacked Mustafa al-Sa'id Ignore Husni Mubarak's Defense of Him?"]

[Text] Mr Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, president of the Wafd Party warned AL-AHALI against continuing its attack on the Wafd party for rejecting the economic decrees of the former minister of the economy. Mr Siraj-al-Din said, "We in AL-WAFD newspaper, and all newspapers except AL-AHALI, have been publishing reports about the former minister of the economy for the past 4 months. We have been accusing him and his family of serious matters that affect integrity, honor and the government's reputation."

The president of the Wafd Party added that the only newspaper that sided with the minister and attacked AL-WAFD was AL-AHALI, the newspaper of the Grouping Party. "This is quite unusual, but the reason for that is well-known. The minister's policy agrees with what their party has been calling for: a [return to the] closed-door policy under which we lived for many years. We experienced disaster under this policy which leads to poverty, hunger, resentment and ultimately an explosion."

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din addressed these remarks to AL-AHALI, and he threatened that he would silence the newspaper forever.

In the same issue of AL-WAFD in which Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din's threatening address to us from Basyun appeared, there was another article whose author wrote: "We represent total liberalism. AL-AHALI, however, represents total restriction of opportunities. They are defending a policy that led Egypt's economy into destruction. They are defending a policy that changed our country during the lean years from a food exporting country to one that begs for food."

In the leading article of its last issue AL-WAFD presented its view of the ongoing battle over the economic decrees--the January 3 decrees and the April 6 decrees that repealed those of January 3. AL-WAFD stated that an attempt was being made to embarrass Kamal Hasan 'Ali's government and to force the prime



minister to resign. This is the goal that has been set by communists, Nasirists and leaders of the secret government that is trying to rule Egypt. These people want to remove the present government which is supporting economic liberalization. That would be the first step toward achieving the goal of the secret government and the Egyptian left: to restrict and close economic and political opportunities in the country."

The address of the president of the Wafd Party and what AL-WAFD published in last Thursday's issue set forth for us three topics that must be discussed calmly, without tension, threats or intimidation. These topics are:

--AL-AHALI's attitude toward Mustafa al-Sa'id and the charges against him.

--The newspaper's attitude toward the economic decrees and its relationship with what it obscurely calls the Mafia of the open-door policy.

--The Wafd Party's posture and its standing in the opposition.

Why Did We Oppose Mustafa al-Sa'id?

First of all, AL-AHALI and the party on whose behalf the newspaper is honored to speak do not have to defend or justify themselves. Our position is clear, and it has been declared and published to all. It is not our fault that some people deliberately forget what everyone read on the pages of AL-AHALI. It is not our fault that those people are trying to confuse the issues to justify the fact that they have been exposed, despite their efforts to cover up their positions and policies.

Let's refresh their memories anyway, assuming, for the sake of argument, that their memory has been sluggish.

Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id is a responsible leader in the National Party, and he was a responsible minister in Dr Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din's cabinet and after that in the cabinet of Maj Gen Kamal Hasan 'Ali. The Grouping Party has been involved in a continuous battle against this party and against its policies and leaders. This is because the Grouping Party's policy is antithetical to that of the National Party and its government. It is in the context of that general course that the Grouping Party and AL-AHALI have disagreed with the economic policy for which Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id is responsible. His policies were the object of harsh "scientific" criticism by the party and by AL-AHALI's economic writers all of whom are, thank God, scholars and experts, like Dr Isma'il Sabri, Dr Fu'ad Mursi, Dr Ibrahim Sa'd al-Din, Dr Ibrahim al-'Isawi, Dr Mahmud 'Abd-al-Fadil, Dr Judah 'Abd-al-Khaliq and Dr Muhammad 'Uthman, to mention just a few.

After Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id issued a decree on August 8 closing the bank accounts of some moneychangers, and after the socialist prosecutor made charges against the minister of the economy, AL-AHALI called upon the minister on August 22, in an article written by Dr 'Abd-al-'Azim Anis, to resign from the ministry. One week later, on August 29, AL-AHALI questioned Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id on its pages and confronted him publicly with the charges that were leveled against him. He was asked, among other things, "Why didn't your wife close down her trading business when you became minister?" He was asked about the fortunate relative,

the 32-year old man who became general manager earning a salary of 5,000 pounds a month. He was asked about the decrees he issued making the public sector pay incentives to the private sector. [He was told that] his dispute with Abu Rujaylah was due to the fact that he had ousted his relative, the manager, from al-Ahram Bank. [He was told that] 'Atif Sidqi and Hamid Mahmud were his partners in a consulting firm.

On October 24 Dr Fu'ad Mursi criticized statements made by the minister of the economy. Dr Mursi said that the minister's statements meant that "Not only is the minister unable to stand up to the centers of power within the Egyptian economy, but he is also in one way or another, helping to shield them and to play down the disastrous effects that sooner or later they will have on the Egyptian economy."

On November 14 AL-AHALI was the only newspaper to publish the charges that were leveled by the socialist prosecutor against the minister of the economy. AL-AHALI published those charges on its front page.

"There are four reports holding the minister responsible for the rise in the price of goods, for the bankruptcy of al-Ahram Bank and for the constraints in the foreign currency market."

On December 19 AL-AHALI published an investigative article entitled, "New Documents about the Relationship between the Minister of the Economy and the Case of Banks."

AL-AHALI has thus played a prominent role in exposing all the charges that were leveled against Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id, and it criticized his policies very harshly and unequivocally.

I challenge anyone who claims that any newspaper in Egypt criticized and attacked the economic policy of the National Party and its government and the minister of the economy as AL-AHALI did. Like any newspaper that respects itself and its readers and the law, we published every reply we received from Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id. We also published any news or information we received in response to what we published.

Why Did We Support the January Decrees?

The January 3, 1985 decrees were issued, and the Grouping Party supported the essence of these decrees, particularly that of abolishing the process of importing goods without converting currency. That is a new approach that no capitalist or socialist economic system in the world has known! Other decrees limited imports by means of guidance committees. Commercial banks operating in Egypt undertook the task of collecting the savings of Egyptians working abroad, and they tried to put an end to the activities of moneychangers. At the same time the Grouping Party called for a number of measures that the government had to take to complete the decrees and ensure their success. The party warned against attempts that would be made to hide goods and raise prices. The party warned that importers and large merchants could resort to such methods.

According to the Wafd Party, to Musa Sabri and Ibrahim Nafi', these were not Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id's decrees.



The decrees were issued after a meeting for political leaders, ministers of production and services and [member of the] economic group was held on December 20; that meeting was chaired by President Husni Mubarak. Prime Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali approved the principal points in the decrees on December 27 before Mustafa al-Sa'id announced them at a press conference that was attended by the governor of the Central Bank and his deputy, who is now the governor of the bank. This information was then made public.

But it was the Mafia of the liberalization policy inside the National Party and the People's Assembly; the leaders of foreign, joint and private banks; major importers, businessmen and leaders of the Wafd Party; and al-Sadat's journalists in the government's (national) newspapers who got together and decided to fight a battle of life or death to foil these decrees.

With courage for which they cannot be envied, all those people deliberately ignored the president's responsibility. It was the president who had approved those decrees, and he was the one who publicly defended the minister of the economy when the assistant socialist prosecutor attacked him. The president said, "The position of the minister of the economy is a sound one." The president said that he had examined all the reports and had discovered that the minister's position was a sound one and that the entire question had to do with a problem that was inherited.

Those people also ignored the fact that the prime minister had approved these decrees and was responsible for them. They tried to win him over by taking advantage of what became known in political circles about the existence of personal problems between him and Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id. They also tried to take advantage of the hidden conflict between Kamal Hasan 'Ali and Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub, who played an important role in having these decrees issued. Kamal Hasan 'Ali has been afraid of what has been said more than once about the existence of a tendency to appoint Rif'at al-Mahjub prime minister. Those people concentrated their attack on Mustafa al-Sa'id, taking advantage of the doubts that have been cast on his integrity and the charges that have been leveled against him by the Ethics Court. Mustafa al-Sa'id was portrayed as a Hercules supported by secret, infernal forces and perhaps foreign fleets. He was portrayed as the one who had imposed those decrees on the president, the prime minister and the council of ministers and had them issued against their wishes.

#### A Game of Confusing the Issues

At this point AL-AHALI went out of its way so as not to confuse the issue, and it refused to link Mustafa al-Sa'id with the government's January 3, 1985 decrees.

Although we do not have the evidence to refute the charges against Mustafa al-Sa'id--nor are we trying to refute them--we knew that the campaign against him was in no way related to corruption or to his own or his family's involvement in practices that compromise his integrity. We knew that the campaign against Mustafa al-Sa'id was one against policies proclaimed by the state, by the president to be specific. These policies had been announced by Mustafa al-Sa'id in his capacity as minister of the economy. Those people who spoke out against Mustafa al-Sa'id became silent; they had previously even defended ministers and officials of the National Party who had been convicted on charges more serious than those that were leveled against Mustafa al-Sa'id.

Is this enough to jog Mr Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din's memory and the memory of AL-WAFD?  
Is it enough to close the case on Mustafa al-Sa'id?

It may be useful before closing that case to cite a few lines from AL-AHALI's editorial of November 14, 1984. This may make matters clearer.

AL-AHALI stated, "The battle that has been raging for several months between the socialist prosecutor's office and the minister of the economy and the fact that a few moneychangers have been taken to Ethics Court are raising again the question of widespread corruption and imbalance in Egypt. These are matters that the country's legal conditions and existing economic and political systems are unable to confront.

"The criminal code, which punishes those who accept bribes, embezzle public funds, and commit a breach of faith, also punishes civil servants who exceed the boundaries of their positions and fail to perform the duties associated with their jobs. In some cases the penalty is life in prison at hard labor. But that criminal code is still unable to deal with new forms of corruption and corrupting influences that are associated with liberalization and stand in the way of numerous obstacles [sic?].

"Despite the significant informative role played by the socialist prosecutor's office and the Ethics Court, in the sense of putting the spotlight on corruption, these two institutions remain in the final analysis exceptional institutions that have no judicial function. What they do does not go beyond staging a political trial that accepts evidence and suspicions and rules that measures, not penalties, be taken. These measures do not go beyond sequestration and retention of property. Soon after that a defendant can resume his normal life and activities, and he may even do so more effectively.

"And legal conditions in Egypt are powerless and unable to put ministers on trial regardless of their crimes."

AL-AHALI concluded its editorial with a number of suggestions which included, "expediting the enactment of a new, enforceable law by means of which ministers can be put on trial."

Let's close the book on Mustafa al-Sa'id! This is an issue that has been conjured up to avoid confronting the president and to avoid an objective discussion of the January 3 decrees. Let's discuss the real issues. Let's discuss the economic policy, the liberalization policy and the restrictions policy. Let's discuss the truth about the Wafd Party's position and where it stands in the opposition.

That will be the topic of the next article.

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EGYPT

## ESTABLISHMENT OF ISLAMIC PARLIAMENT ADVOCATED

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 24 Apr 85 p 10

[Article by Husayn Ahmad Amin: "To Whom It May Concern: An Appeal To Establish an Islamic Parliament"]

[Text] The central problem that intellectuals in the Islamic world must place first on their list of interests in the face of those consecutive and considerable changes that are being experienced in the contemporary world is this: Is it better to adjust Islamic notions and values to changing social and economic conditions? If the answer to that question is yes, then the next question will be how is that to be done!

Let us begin by recording an actual fact that may not have much to do with intellectuals. That fact is that the ideas, beliefs and values of any religion never stay the same. The ideas, beliefs and values of the Christian Middle Ages differed drastically from those of the times of Christ's disciples and from those of our times. In a previous article we mentioned how Muslims who lived in the latter part of the 19th century and in the 20th century were influenced by their relationships with foreigners and tended to focus on the close relationship between the Islamic faith and social, political and economic questions such as parliamentary government, social justice, equality, the status of women, care for education and health and so on. This is a relationship that Muslims before them thought of only occasionally; it did not hold a major part of their interests.

The evolution of ideas and values then is inevitable whether or not intellectuals take part in it or plan it. I do believe, however, that if the elite do not get involved in planning and directing this evolution, it may not always tend to be positive and commendable. Sometimes, the change may be a change in the proper direction, as when religious scholars and the general public in Egypt stopped their custom of going out to the desert near the citadel to read "Sahih al-Bukhari" [Al-Bukhari's collection of authoritative Prophetic Traditions] when there was a plague or when the flood was delayed because they believed that reading from that book would relieve the distress. But a change may also be made in an improper direction. An example of that has been the prevalence in recent centuries of the phenomenon of sanctifying the prophet. The first Muslims perceived Muhammad as a human being like themselves; the only difference they saw between him and them was the fact that he was divinely inspired.

It is my opinion that in this age of ours in which the principle of planning and guidance is applied in most fields of human endeavor--political, social, cultural, reconstruction and economic--applying that principle in the religious field is not only possible, but indispensable. Applying the principle of planning and guidance to religion will counter misleading ideas and reinforce commendable tendencies.

#### The Idea of an Islamic Parliament

All those planners and guides will have to use the following questions as points of departure as they undertake their missions.

Muslims today are living in a cultural climate that differs drastically from that which prevailed at the dawn of Islam. Can the ideas and values that were useful to the people of the 1st century Hijrah be useful in solving the problems of [their descendants in] the 15th century?

We know for certain that tension and emotional conflicts are in the most part due to inherent contradictions between individuals' intellectual positions and spiritual values, on the one hand, and the conditions that are always changing in their society. Can this tension be removed and can the intensity of these conflicts be alleviated by coming up with Islamic solutions that do not ignore vital facts and that adjust to those facts and simultaneously impart to them an Islamic, spiritual character?

Reinterpreting dogma in the light of continuing changes as a way of confronting those changes in a positive manner is indispensable if we want this dogma to survive. However, the process of reinterpreting dogma is extremely difficult and complicated because modern civilization is complex and because its social, political, economic, scientific and cultural components are intertwined and influence each other. Would it not be useful then if this task were to be undertaken by a permanent Islamic parliament that would comprise selected religious scholars as well as major experts in the fields of economics, sociology, politics, history, future studies and social change? The Islamic parliament should also include physicians, psychiatrists, linguists and other specialists, both secularists and others, Muslims and non-Muslims. Wouldn't those people's deliberations and the results of their discussions help us achieve new formulas?

This suggestion I am making stems from a highly significant fact. Today's world is one that abounds with various modes of thought and areas of specialization, each of which has strengths and weaknesses. Each one of these modes of thought has its profound effect on research methodology and on the methodology of reinterpretation and formulation, and each one can help make up for concrete shortcomings in other modes of thought.

#### Deliberations

Secularists or advocates of westernization and modernization may begin by affirming the idea of progress. They may stress the fact that we have to set aside what is old and worn out whenever we wish to keep up with civilization and interact with the spirit of the age.



Traditionalists and proponents of the Salafiyah movement may respond by saying that the idea of progress itself has become suspect. They may say that as progress in science and technology has been made, values have been compromised, moral standards in arts and literature have declined, and feelings of anxiety, tension and emotional diseases have become widespread. They may say that religion does not have to adjust itself to those novel ideas that change from one age to another.

Psychiatrists may call our attention to the fact that what led some to go overboard when talking about the grandeur and splendor of the past may be the sense of failure that is obvious in the modes of our current societies and in our modern age after 1 or 2 centuries of undue faith in the fact that science will create for us a better world in the future. Those people affirm that the old is better than the new simply because it is old; they affirm that our ancestors are better than their descendants simply because they lived before we did. They affirm that it would be useful and good to restore to today's world all the systems and modes of life that prevailed in the past.

Historians may refer to the development of dogma and canonical law in Islam throughout the ages. They may say it would be wrong or illusory to think that our current ideas about Islam are derived from genuine Islam as shown in the Koran and the True Tradition. They may explain how the evolution of conditions in Islamic society caused the appearance of tendencies like Sufism or sanctifying the messenger and virtuous patrons. Also, traditions were composed and falsely attributed to the prophet, and the Islamic community became divided into denominations and groups. Historians may also speak about how matters that intrude upon Islam and may not be found in the Koran and the True Tradition must not impede our efforts to keep up with the age. They may say that it is possible to free ourselves from this burdensome intrusion and that that could help us unleash our creative capabilities and respond to the spirit of the age in a manner that would not be inconsistent with our commitment to True Islam.

The new traditionalists may explain the ties that exist between religious emotions and traditions and how the destruction of the traditional social framework could help dissipate the climate that kindles religious emotions. Consequently, they may advise against playing around with these traditions. Undoubtedly, others will ask them about the nature of these ingredients that make up traditions. Do they merely consist of venerating what is old, or do they consist of what is habitual, customary and generally accepted?

Sociologists will respond by affirming that traditions are related to prevailing social conditions. They will say that the social mode and the form of production have the greatest effect on either kindling or putting out religious feelings. However, it may be necessary to change social conditions that are linked with traditions and religious feelings so that progress can be made and production increased. Do you think that we should give up the objective of increasing production? Do you think we should give up having modern methods of industry, large cities and other matters to preserve traditions?

Such a debate may cause proponents of westernization and contemporaneity to retreat somewhat from their idea about absolute progress, and they may not insist so much on including the religious phenomenon under that idea. Proponents of the Salafiyah movement may admit that science and technology could achieve progress without breaking with the past or turning away from it. They may acknowledge

that religion may be assisted by modern methods and means of research to correct mistakes, amend a course, broaden the scope of knowledge, reformulate assumptions, reconsider uncontested facts and categorize accumulated knowledge. They may acknowledge that it would be wrong for religion to impede the progress of the sciences. Afterwards, clergymen may acknowledge that it is necessary to devote more attention to the present and to life in this world. They may acknowledge that the vitality of the present would not allow the view that the present is an old, repeated scene of the past. They may decline to accept an old remedy for a modern ailment. Psychiatrists may admit that in times of prosperity and peace people tend to rely on the idea that financial prosperity alone can help them achieve happiness and contentment. Psychiatrists may also admit that the crises with which today's world is afflicted have helped individuals realize that the roots of society lie deep in the human spirit and that these roots are deeper than they imagined they were.

### The Diversity of Ideas and Positions

This parliament may discuss the interest that banks charge. A religious scholar may come forward to propose a definition of usury, which is prohibited in the Koran. He may suggest that usury means any increase in the amount of the original debt. Accordingly, the interest that banks charge on loans becomes usury. That scholar may refuse to accept the arguments set forth by an economist to justify the interest that banking systems charge. He may deny that interest paid on bank deposits benefits the national economy because he sees it as a creditor's exploitation of a debtor. This is the exploitation that the Koran undoubtedly tried to prevent by prohibiting usury. Nevertheless, the religious scholar may accept the linguist's argument that usury in the language signifies growth and increase. Since it would be unreasonable to think that the Koran prohibited any growth or increase in anything, the verse must have intended a certain kind of business transaction in pre-Islamic days whose nature may be unknown to us or is no longer known to us today, like al-ansab [stones used as idols] and al-izlam [a common practice in pre-Islamic days when people took action or refrained from an action depending on commands attached to arrows they drew at random]. And here a historian may intervene to explain that in pre-Islamic days a creditor would often agree to defer repayment of a debt in return for doubling the amount of the debt. It is that, not merely interest, that is prohibited.

Other topics may be discussed in this parliament, such as that of women's testimony. At a time when women have achieved a measure of education equal to man's and at a time when we have seen many virtuous women such as Mrs Aminah al-Sa'id and Dr Suhayr al-Qalamawi, does it make sense to say that the testimony of one man equals that of two women? The topic of a woman's share in an estate, which is half that of a male, may be discussed. Would it be useful in the light of current economic and social conditions to reconsider that matter? It is certain that physicians will be asked by this parliament to provide a medical opinion on the effect that fasting has on the growth of the young and the health of the old. Economists will also be asked to submit data about the volume of production during the month of Ramadan. Psychologists and sociologists will be asked to present their opinions on the consequences of women taking the veil. We will go back to physicians to ask them about the truth of the allegation that the offspring of women who take the veil is weaker than the offspring of unveiled women. This is an important subject which has to do with the physical makeup of members of the future generation in our Islamic society.

I can almost swear that the participation of a large number of the nation's scholars in discussions of these and other topics in an atmosphere of absolute academic freedom and total candor will undoubtedly produce highly significant results. These discussions would not be tarnished by declarations of infidelity or by pejorative and intolerant statements; they would not be marred by demonstrations of oneupmanship; religion would not be used to make deals; and demagogic tendencies would not be considered. I also believe that reinterpreting Islamic ideas and values cannot be done positively and effectively without the collective effort and contributions of people from various schools of thought and tendencies, with a variety of experiences and specializations. Despite their differences these would be people who grew up in the same social environment, which is an Islamic society. Despite their differences, they would be people who share the same destiny, people whose similarities and agreements cannot be ignored.

8592

CSO: 4504/337

EGYPT

#### SOCIAL PROGRAMS FOR RURAL YOUTH PLANNED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 9 May 85 p 8

[Article by Muhammad 'Abd-al-Hadi: "Social Defense Conference Calls for Completion of 85 Defense Clubs in the Governorates"]

[Text] The Sixth Conference on social defense yesterday issued recommendations calling for the speedy completion of 85 social defense clubs. These were created in the ministry plan for the governorates. The public service programs for youth would emphasize environmental service, paving roads, volunteer teaching and obtaining land for playing fields and youth clubs.

Furthermore, the recommendations asserted the necessity of opening all social, political, and religious arenas to youth, aimed at involving them in public service programs to prove themselves. Also, the recommendations call for benefiting from the experience of American rural clubs by introducing economic activity into the club program through the producing [farm] families project.

The recommendations affirmed the need for providing appropriate jobs in corporations and factories for handicapped youth and stressed tasking the young people having appropriate specialties in social defense fields with voluntary social assignments.

CSO: 4504/345



SUDAN

TMC, CABINET MEMBERS INTERVIEWED

Cairo AKHIR SA'AH in Arabic 24 Apr, 1 May 85

[Article by 'Adil Rida: "What Are Issues of Transitional Period in Sudan; What Are Guarantees for Parties' Activities and What Is Cure for Economic Crisis; Interviews with Siwar-al-Dhahab and New Leaders"]

[24 Apr 85 pp 10-11, 61]

[Text] After 18 days of the Sudanese people's uprising and of the army command's assumption of power in the interim period, what is Sudan like now? Have tranquillity and stability returned to the country with an area of 1/4 million square miles?

Has it been possible to secure the popular uprising against any external danger that could threaten it? What are the most prominent urgent issues facing the TMC [Transitional Military Council], which has been carrying out the acts of sovereignty and of the legislative authority during the interim period? What form will the expected cooperation between this council and the interim civilian government take? Should conflict arise between the viewpoints of the two sides, who will be the umpire? How is the work proceeding during this period? What are the criteria taken into consideration in selecting the elements of the interim government? What is the position of all the political and partisan currents toward this government formation? How will the permanent government and elected parliament be formed? When will the constitution be drafted? Finally, what picture does the anticipated and desired future of Sudan take?

Numerous questions are raised by the developments now taking place in Sudan. Through a number of interviews with Gen 'Abd-al-Rahman Siwar-al-Dhahab, the ruling TMC chairman, and with a number of the military and political leaders, AKHIR SA'AH tried to get full answers to these questions.

[Question] At the outset, I said to General Siwar-al-Dhahab: The eyes of all the information media are trying to observe very carefully what is taking place in the Sudanese arena now. Can you point out to us your most significant concerns?

[Siwar-al-Dhahab] It is certain that the turning point through which Sudan is passing at present is extremely delicate and important. Perhaps the most important issue we are concerned with at present is to entrench the roots of national unity and to steer clear of whatever may cause division and disunity. This is a duty imposed by the reality and required by the serious phase.

We are fully convinced that entrenching the roots of national unity are achieved with the participation of all of the country's citizens. This is why we have appealed to all the honorable citizens living outside Sudan to return to the country immediately and why we have assured them that they will receive full support in consultation and understanding and that there will be no arrogance because the objective of all of us is to lead our people to safety. The circumstances undergone by our country in the preceding years during which the honorable citizens of this homeland were made homeless and were forced to leave the country and live far from kinsmen and homeland--those circumstances were caused by nothing other than these citizens' disagreement with the previous regime and by their opposition to the regime's faulty practices. Throughout the preceding period, the country missed the efforts and sweat of its best citizens and the efforts of the thinkers, the creators and the workers were wasted. This reflected negatively on the performance of the country in its entirety. Production dropped and the economy slipped into an abyss whose depth only God knows.

Now that a new dawn has risen over our country with our popular uprising, we urge the country's citizens to return in order that they may contribute to building the homeland.

#### Solving Problem of South

To achieve the same objective I have talked of, namely to bolster national unity, our priorities in this phase are topped by the need to solve the problem of South Sudan peacefully. This is something on which all opinions agree. Since the dawn of independence and until the present, this problem has continued to pose a real obstacle in the face of the political, economic and social progress to which we have been aspiring. Moreover, this problem has continued to harbor an element of threat to the internal and national security of Sudan and has developed to emerge in the form of an exorbitantly costly civil war. The matter does not end at this point. The problem has provided, especially in the recent period, the soil for sowing disagreement between Sudan and its neighbors. To be frank, unjustifiable mistakes have been committed against the southerners. After continuous war for 17 years, the Addis Ababa agreement was concluded and all the southerners accepted this agreement. Then all of a sudden, the decree dividing the south into three regions was issued whereas the south had been previously united. This was done without consultation with the southern citizens. There was a long debate on the decision to divide the south and on whether that decision was right or wrong.

The decree divided the south into three regions, namely the Upper Nile, Equatoria and Bahr al-Ghazal. Some accepted this division and others rejected it and the decree has led to numerous disagreements. It is now difficult to overcome these

disagreements without good will and without putting Sudan's supreme interest above all considerations. In the wake of the 6 April revolution, we have no recourse but to resort to the democratic system to settle the matter. We have launched this revolution with candor and this revolution will not hesitate to tackle the nation's urgent problems with the same candor. The decision concerning the issue of the south does not belong to the southerners alone, even though they are the citizens most affected by the problem. It belongs to all of Sudan's citizens and they must all take part in making it. This is why we have issued TMC Decree No 14 which cancels Presidential Decree No 1 of 1983 and provides that the provisions of the Addis Ababa agreement of 1972 be valid as a general framework for regional government in the south. As for the form the regional rule takes, we have decided that during the interim period, the three southern regions will remain as they are at present, namely under military administration. The Armed Forces General Command is in charge of arranging and organizing this administration. A higher command has been formed for the three regions collectively and is headed by a military officer to implement the objectives of the interim period. A national conference will be held. People of opinion, southern and northern politicians and ulema will take part in the conference to formulate the general framework for managing the country's southern region democratically--a framework acceptable to Sudan's citizens.

#### Tackling Deteriorating Economy

Sudan's most significant concerns in this phase include the economic problem which we have given top priority in our mission immediately after stabilizing the situation. Urgent steps are now being taken to stop the economic deterioration. There are also medium-range steps, in addition to a long-range policy which is being formulated to reform the economy in the long run. We look forward to a helping hand from brothers and friends to prevent the exposure of 1 million children in Sudan to danger.

We believe that the solution to all these problems can only come in a democratic climate. This is why we have advocated the freedom of the press and of expression in a democratic climate. Whoever wishes to publish a newspaper in accordance with the laws in force will be permitted to do so. Moreover, the freedom of the parties is guaranteed. We are meeting with all sides and exerting efforts to reconcile them because we are eager for consensus.

Responding to another question, General Siwar-al-Dhahab said: The Sudanese people have waged more than one experiment in which they have underlined their unbending insistence on democracy. The people's aspirations are not achieved with rosy dreams but with effort, sweat and sacrifice. Now that we are pondering in the wake of the popular uprising the condition in which we have been and the condition in which we will be, it must be noted that the role of the intellectuals and the specialists will become these days as great as the challenges facing the homeland. Though we are passing through an interim period, this period offers the opportunity to all specialized people to present their ideas for dealing with the causes of the collapse in the country's infrastructures and to submit their proposals on the cure so that we may develop a salvation program on whose implementation the interim government focuses.

## Don't Discard Plotting

AKHIR SA'AH's second interview was with Lt Gen Muhammad Tawfiq Khalil, the ruling TMC member and official spokesman. Lt Gen Tawfiq Khalil is the envoy dispatched by the TMC to visit Egypt and meet with President Husni Mubarak to deliver to him a message from General Siwar-al-Dhahab.

[Question] Has Sudan been secured against any conspiracy attempt, be it internal or external?

[Khalil] Regarding plots whether internal or external, we do not expect them nor fear them because there is a popular consensus and full support from the armed forces for the 6 April revolution. The justifications for plotting are nonexistent. However, we do not disregard any possibility. The army and the other regular forces are in a full state of alert. This is natural at the outset of any revolution. It is certain that the cohesion of the internal front, the adoption of a number of well-known precautionary measures to watch the country's entrances and exit points and the activity of persons banned from leaving the country are all precautionary measures.

[Question] To what degree do you believe that the national security is tied to the Nile Valley?

[Khalil] Egypt and Sudan together form the Nile Valley. It is axiomatic that their national security is one and the same and is linked. We stressed this fact in the third communique issued by the alliance of the people's armed forces. In this communique, we devoted a special and distinct paragraph to our relations with sisterly Egypt. These are everlasting relations and the continuation of these relations is one of our priorities. The joint defense agreement between Egypt and Sudan is still extant and present.

[Question] What are the results of your recent visit to Egypt?

[Answer] The objective of my visit to Egypt was to familiarize the Egyptian brothers with the conditions in Sudan and to assure them that they are stable, that security is stable, that the armed forces are in full control of the situation in all parts of the country and that the country is dominated by a new spirit brimming with hope at the start of a new era of freedom and democracy. It is natural on our part to reassure sisterly Egypt regarding the conditions in Sudan, considering that it clearly supported our revolution as of the first hours of its inception. President Husni Mubarak assured me of Egypt's support for Sudan's revolution. Generally, the visit was very successful. I took the opportunity of my presence in Egypt and met with the Sudanese community there to explain to it our future plans and felt its support.

[Question] Are there guarantees for the parties to engage in their activities freely?

[Khalil] The first communique was issued to establish freedom of expression, of the press, of work and of the political parties. Every party can take part in the elections. It is axiomatic that there must be controls acceptable



to all so that freedom will not become chaos. These controls will be established by the people's representatives in their coming meetings when the election committees are formed.

[Question] Will the formation of new parties be permitted?

[Khalil] Yes. This issue is being coordinated between the TMC and the interim government.

[Question] What guarantees that the TMC will hand power over to the civilian government at the end of the interim period?

[Khalil] First, it is obvious from the name of the TMC that it is temporary and is for a set period of time. Second, we have taken the oath that the interim period will not exceed what is defined in the charter concluded between us and the National Grouping. Third, all the TMC members still hold their previous military positions and each of us will return to his post at the end of the interim period set in the charter.

We will try to redouble our efforts in the interim period so as to reduce its length. The union grouping and the parties are confident of the truthfulness of these words.

[Question] Will everybody who took part in the previous administration be banned from engaging in political action and will political isolation be imposed on all the men of the previous administration?

[Khalil] The people who will be banned from engaging in political activity are only those who corrupted political life and who have been convicted by the courts. I would like to say that the courts will be fair and that nobody will be convicted on suspicions.

[Question] How can it be guaranteed that the political parties will not become preoccupied with partisan disagreements?

[Khalil] We have been independent for 29 years. We engaged in partisan activity for 7 years and were then compelled to operate under the canopy of the single party, namely the Socialist Union which has proven its failure. The 6 April masses support the return to the multi-party system and we must respond to these masses' demands. It is certain that we will benefit from all our past experiences and will issue the laws that enable the parties to engage in their activities on a sound basis.

[Question] When will the trials begin and the arrests end?

[Khalil] The matter is left up to the fair-minded judiciary. If any case is examined and the judiciary decides that to complete the trial, the testimony of some witnesses must be heard then such witnesses must appear before the court. Any person against whom no charges are proven will be released. I would like to reassure all that no arrest will be made just for the sake of arrest and that no indiscriminate arrest will be made.

## Consultations on Government Formation

AKHIR SA'AH's third interview was with Brig 'Uthman 'Abdallah Muhammad, the ruling TMC member who has been entrusted by the TMC to conduct the dialogue with the civilian grouping and with the parties and to supervise the formation of the civilian government. He began the interview with AKHIR SA'AH by saying: I have been entrusted with this difficult task of conducting the consultations concerning the phases of forming the government and of thinking about its anticipated structure. It is a task of supervision and reconciliation: supervision because all the consultations concerning the phases of forming the government and of visualizing its anticipated structure have had to take their own course. As for the reconciliation task, it has come because I have been entrusted with finding an approach acceptable to all the various parties, unions and organizations which have contributed effectively. I would like to point out that the importance of this revolution lies in the fact that it does not belong to any one faction and that it is the result of the accumulation of numerous injustices and enormous events. But this does not prevent us from saying that a certain circle pulled the trigger to declare the beginning of the deluge. This circle is the Trade Union Grouping and the parties. To consult with such a group and to emerge with a government acceptable to all, we have had to take enough time because all wish to be represented in this government so that they may have the honor of taking part in the phase of transferring authority from one-person rule to the democratic system. We have had several options: either form the government with relative representation by the unions and parties which touched off the revolution, as happened in the October 1964 revolution, and declare an interim military government or select a cabinet from among qualified neutral men who have no political or partisan tendencies.

We took the second [presumably meaning third] option to show our good will and because the military leadership has no intention of taking sole control, and also because the economic deterioration of the country cannot be solved except by a specialized, technocratic government.

[Question] What are the most prominent urgent tasks facing the new government?

[Muhammad] First, to deal with the problem of South Sudan peacefully so as to end the bloodshed.

Second, to stem the economic deterioration through self-reliance in the initial phase and in accordance with well-studied agricultural plans supervised carefully.

Third, to reconsider the direction of local industries and reduce the production and customs fees.

Fourth, to channel the aid received from friendly and fraternal countries toward projects with a quick yield.

Fifth, to mend the bridges of trust between Sudan and its neighbors in a manner that serves Sudan's interests and guarantees our national security.

[Question] What are the features of the national charter by which the TMC and the interim civilian government will abide?

[Muhammad] The national charter is divided into two parts: the first defining the tasks of the phase and the second concerning the institutions on which the political system should be founded during the interim period. The first part touches on the political, social and economic problems and on the establishment of the foundations for fighting the corrupters and graft-money takers who exploited their influence during the past period. The main features of this charter also include the agreement to solve the problem of the south in a democratic manner acceptable to the citizens of both the south and the north.

[Question] There is an observation concerning the small number of cabinet ministers. Why?

[Muhammad] The grouping, the parties and the armed forces agreed unanimously to reduce the number of ministries existing under the previous administration so as to reduce the financial expenditures and to rely on the directors of the ministries. For example, the ministries of justice, social affairs and religious trusts have been merged in a single ministry, and so have the ministries of general education, higher education and scientific research.

[Question] What will be done during the interim period?

[Muhammad] The general projection is that the formation of parties will be permitted in this period, that the various parties will engage in their tasks and will establish newspapers to speak on their behalf and that preparations will be made for the elections by neutral election committee selected in coordination between the TMC and the council of ministers. This committee will be entrusted with supervising the preparations for the elections, with conducting the elections and then with declaring the results. A constituent assembly, which has not yet been given this name officially, a national assembly or an assembly under any other name will then be formed and will draft and pass the country's permanent constitution. After passing the constitution, this assembly will turn into a parliament serving a term of 3 or 4 years. After the constitution is drafted and passed, the cabinet will be elected from within the parliament and will exercise its powers. The TMC and the provisional council of ministers will then be dissolved automatically.

[Question] How has the charter defined stemming the economic deterioration occurring at present?

[Muhammad] We must acknowledge that the economic deterioration has resulted not just from the problems of desertification, drought and the enormous number of refugees. These conditions have contributed to intensifying the situation but the economic deterioration has developed because the previous regime did not formulate economic policies founded on scientific bases. Economic misplanning is what has led to this catastrophe and to lowering the value of the pound which, in turn, has led to starvation in some parts of Sudan.

[Question] Do you think that the problem of the south can be solved during the interim period?

[Muhammad] I would like to stress that if the problem of the south is not solved during the interim period, then there will be no possibility whatsoever of solving this problem.

The problem of the south is a many-sided problem and we must admit that there are aspects of disagreement between the north and the south insofar as the tribal structure, the difference in the standard of social life and the difference in faith are concerned. These problems cannot be solved from a single perspective. A comprehensive look must be taken and a solution guaranteeing containment of the aspects of disagreement must be formulated. The Addis Ababa agreement, though one of the previous regime's biggest accomplishments, was not, regrettably, enacted. Presidential Decree No 1 of 1983 was issued by the previous regime dividing the south into three regions without conducting a referendum among the Sudanese people in the south. This created a deep gap of mistrust and led to the launching of an armed insurgency that has covered a large part of the southern provinces. The southerners have formed a unified command with external support and have been able to influence South Sudan's stability very strongly. What we will do now is to tackle this problem within a framework of mutual trust between the north and the south and solve it in a scientific manner that insures that this tragedy will not recur.

#### Visualization of Problem of South

ADHIR SA'AH's fourth interview was with Maj Gen James Loro, a member of the ruling TMC and a prominent southern leader. He has summed up his opinion as follows: The problem of the south is not the problem of the south alone because some in the south say that all of Sudan must be liberated from the manifestations of the previous regime. The ongoing war in the south is due to the violent approach in dealing with issues. The evident tendency of the military command and of the civilian government is that this problem must be solved in order that stability may prevail in Sudan.

As for the issue of dividing the south into three regions, some support it and some oppose it. The opinions of the southerners must be taken in a free referendum. There have been developments since the conclusion of the Addis Ababa agreement which ended the war that had lasted 17 years and these developments must be tackled. I urge Dr John Jaranti to take part in the negotiations aimed at achieving an acceptable solution. The citizens of the south have no objection to integration between Egypt and Sudan and they are enthusiastic about strong relations between the two countries. It is definite that convocation of the conference which will include all southerners will lead to finding an acceptable solution.

AKHIR SA'AH also interviewed Samuel Aru Bol, chairman of the South Sudan Political Grouping, who said: This political grouping represents the south's politicians, craftsmen, intellectuals, workers, businessmen and women. We all express our pride in what the Sudanese people achieved on 6 April. The glories of the October 1964 revolution have been restored to us.



The grouping's position toward the previous May regime which imposed partition and unjust laws and threatened our national unity has stressed the grouping's rejection of the division of the south and of the September 1983 laws and has demanded immediate direct negotiations with the Sudanese Popular Liberation Army and the Sudanese Popular Liberation Movement. This position also demanded that the negotiations be preceded by a general amnesty and by a cease-fire under the supervision of international observers. It also demanded that a charter governing the various factions be drawn up during the interim period and that a fair investigation be made of all the past practices that corrupted political life under the previous regime. He asserted that all the political tendencies enrolled in the grouping respect religions and respect Islam as a religious faith and said that the disagreement is over implementation of the September 1983 laws.

He also said that Egyptian-Sudanese relations are founded on common interests between our two peoples. We will support whatever is beneficial to our two countries.

Regarding the work on the Jonglei project, Bol said: This project requires a profound study to insure the interests of both peoples, and of the southern citizens especially.

The final interview was with Dr al-Jazuli Daf'allah, the doctors' doyen and a member of the Union Grouping who has been approved to head the cabinet during the interim period. Dr Daf'allah told AKHIR SA'AH that formation of the cabinet proposed for the interim period has been completed and that all that remains to be done is some consultation concerning certain figures in the proposed cabinet.

He also said: Selection of the cabinet members has been done on the basis of integrity, a sense of national responsibility, capability, refrainment from cooperation with the May regime at the political level and absence of partisan affiliation.

He further said: All the factions of the Trade Union Grouping and the political parties on the one hand and the TMC on the other have agreed that the interim institutions must be independent of any partisan affiliation and that they should provide the political parties with the democratic climate that enables them to organize their entities and to present their programs to the people so that the people may select their leaders when the time comes. The prime minister designate added that the problem of the south is a sensitive and fundamental problem that must be solved within a framework of awareness and democracy to insure the country's stability.

He said further that it is one of the responsibilities of the various political forces to project the solutions needed for all the problems free from slogans and acts of oneupmanship.

To conclude, the developments being undergone by Sudan are coming in rapid succession and it is difficult to cover them all in a single report. So, until next week.

[1 May 85 pp 12-13, 54-55]

[Text] How does the new Sudanese leadership view the most urgent tasks facing it at present and how is it planning to complete these tasks during the interim period which has been set at 1 year and which begins as of the date of the announcement of the formation of the interim civilian government?

What, specifically, is the task of the TMC and of the interim civilian government during the interim period and what are the controls that govern the activities of each of them until the power is handed over to a civilian regime and until the army returns to its barracks in accordance with the pledge undertaken by the TMC?

What are the political forces, parties and groupings existing in the Sudanese arena at present and how are they preparing for the phase of the handover of power to the civilians? What are their most insignificant ideas and projections regarding Sudan's issues and problems?

AKHIR SA'AH has been eager to get the answers to these questions and others from their original sources and from the elements that are influencing events in Sudan at present.

Gen 'Abd-al-Rahman Siwar-al-Dhahab, the ruling TMC chairman and the general commander of the Sudanese army, believes that the national action charter approved by most of the parties, unions, federations and organizations has defined very simply and with utter decisiveness and clarity the task of the interim civilian cabinet during the period set for it, namely 1 year. The most prominent tasks of the civilian government are to implement the commitment to transfer power to the people through free and honest elections, to tackle the problems that demand an immediate decision, led by the problem of South Sudan, to lead Sudan out of its crushing economic crisis, to contain all the consequences emanating from the rule of the previous regime in all the political and social spheres, to bring to account the corrupters, graft-money takers and merchants exploiting the people's livelihood under the defunct regime and to confront the consequences of the drought and the desertification that are threatening more than 1 million Sudanese children with death and more than 3 million other children with malnutrition and emaciation. All this is to proceed hand in hand with issuing the regulations governing the formation of parties, the preparation for the general elections and the handing over of power to the masses within the framework of a system that reflects the genuine character of the Sudanese people and confirms their capability to rule.

To achieve these objectives in this brief period, Gen 'Abd-al-Rahman Siwar-al-Dhahab believes that the interim cabinet must be in constant session because the vacuum that has affected the individual's private and public life and the corrosion in the structure of the services that are essential to the people require the cabinet to make boundless sacrifices, especially since the people are awaiting the cabinet's offerings most impatiently.

General Siwar-al-Dhahab views the interim civilian cabinet's work in the coming phase with optimism and confidence which he attributes to the following:

The criteria observed in selecting the cabinet ministers insure that these ministers will devote the utmost efforts to achieve the objectives of the interim period. Elements with a sense of patriotism, honesty, integrity, a strong character and the ability to lead and with no partisan affiliation have been selected for the cabinet.

All realize that what is required in the interim period is to rally behind the declared national objectives. This means of necessity rising above transient personal conflicts and devotion to work with the seriousness of the revolution and the pruity of the revolutionaries, and this is something that the ministers have pledged.

What is more important, all the people will watch the new ministers performing the tasks of the phase and will not permit any deviation or laxity in performing the task under any justification. At the same time, all are prepared to help the interim cabinet overcome any obstacles encountering it. Though the TMC is undertaking the acts of sovereignty and of the legislative authority and the interim cabinet is undertaking the duties of the executive and administrative authority, controls have been established for offering advice, for joint cooperation and for surpassing the conventional relations between the state's responsible authorities.

#### Selection of Cabinet Members

General Siwar-al-Dhahab assured AKHIR SA'AH that the selection of the civilian cabinet members has been the subject of broad discussions with all the parties concerned and that all viewpoints have to be heard before its announcement because as long as we have chosen democracy as our path, then we must listen to all, must not be annoyed with any opinion and must provide an opportunity for various viewpoints.

General Siwar-al-Dhahab said: The ruling TMC has made it absolutely clear that it does not plan to keep the army in power because "we are not seekers of power" and that he and his colleagues are exerting ceaseless efforts to hand over power to the people on the date to which they have committed themselves.

Another thing to which the TMC has committed itself is to offer all the needed support for the interim cabinet's efforts to solve the problem of the south, to rescue the economy, to safeguard and underline the liberties, to create a pure climate and to prepare thoroughly for democratic practices. General Siwar-al-Dhahab also believes that all the people must aid the government in this phase by increasing their production rates and by making up for the shortage in resources with intrinsic efforts. Moreover, this aid must be emphasized in the means of transferring power to the people in an organized democratic manner that enables the leaders of the parties, the unions and the groupings to return to full and undiminished democracy and to insure the supremacy of the rule of the law and of the independence of the judiciary.

Perhaps what is most interesting is that all the political parties and unions, as well as the civilian cabinet, appreciate the TMC's commitment to restore the power to the people. This support, especially from the main unions and parties, has extremely significant meanings.

Dr al-Jazuli Daf'allah emphasized his confidence that the TMC will uphold its pledge to transfer power to the masses, having underlined clearly its alignment with the people's just demands and having toppled the previous regime.

[Question] But what remains to be determined is the nature of the coordination which will be established between the TMC and the cabinet during the interim period?

[Siwar-al-Dhahab] The relationship between the TMC and the executive authority is defined in the communique which provides for forming the TMC in its capacity as representative of the state's sovereignty and legislative authority. Consequently, the relationship is clear. Moreover, it will be governed by the charter which has been agreed upon. It is also well known that the interim period is limited and that its objectives are clear.

[Question] What about the TMC's conception of the solution to the problem of South Sudan?

[Siwar-al-Dhahab] In fact, we have called for holding conferences to discuss the dimensions of this problem. All the parties concerned are to take part in these conferences because the issue is primarily a national issue and must be projected at a national level in which all those concerned with the issue of the south take part. Just defining the nature of the problem makes it possible to achieve a solution for it. We are now exerting efforts to familiarize ourselves with the opinions of all the southern parties and we have already begun a dialogue with the southerners present here in Khartoum. They are veteran politicians. We are also exerting efforts to hold discussions with John Garang on this problem.

#### Investigation of Former Regime

To present the viewpoint of the ruling TMC fully, AKHIR SA'AH met at the General Command Headquarters with Lt Gen Engr Muhammad Tawfiq Khalil, the TMC member and official spokesman, with whom the interview went as follows:

[Question] You have stated repeatedly that an investigation must be conducted with the men of the former regime. How and when will this trial begin?

[Khalil] The investigation of the men of the defunct regime started a few days ago. A special office has been set up at the Attorney General's Bureau to examine the citizens' complaints concerning the issues of corruption and of the misuse of power in which the defunct regime's men engaged. In the light of this investigation, all persons indicted will be tried.

As for the issue of the Falashas and of the former regime's involvement in this issue, the factfinding committee entrusted with gathering information on



this issue is still carrying on with its work and has not yet gathered all the information. The outcome of this committee's work will be announced as soon as the investigations are completed.

[Question] What about the crushing economic problem and are there certain countries that have responded to Sudan's appeal to bolster its economy?

[Khalil] We have encountered understanding and a strong response from fraternal and friendly countries in support of Sudan in this critical period. All the efforts are currently channeled toward reforming the extremely poor economic situation which we have inherited from the previous administration. Since the triumph of the people's revolution, there has been renewed hope for improving the Sudanese economy. The Sudanese pound has begun to regain its strength versus the foreign currencies and we expect to achieve savings in general spending in the wake of dissolving and abolishing a large number of the agencies which constituted a heavy burden on the state budget.

[Question] It is well known that the previous regime lasted 16 years and it is natural that many people participated in it. Will all these people be dismissed?

[Khalil] One of the charter's paragraphs states that whoever is proven to have been corrupt, taken graft money or misused his power will be presented to the courts. What will emanate from the court automatically is that political isolation will be imposed because in accordance with the election law, such people may not run as candidates in elections.

#### Trade Union Grouping and Parties

At the Armed Forces General Command, AKHIR SA'AH also had a long interview with Brig 'Uthman 'Abdallah Muhammad, the TMC member and minister of defense. Brigadier Muhammad is the man who led the dialogue and who, on assignment by the TMC, conducted all contacts pertaining to the formation of the interim civilian cabinet.

[Question] You have made numerous contacts with the Trade Union Grouping for National Salvation which includes the unions, the parties and the federations. Is it possible to know the nature of the discussion that has taken place and of the main features of the national charter and how has it been possible to form the interim cabinet?

[Muhammad] Let me tell you with utter honesty that the discussions have been characterized by a high spirit of selflessness and have been at a high level of patriotism. One of the things that have really pleased me is that the professional federations and unions have been eager not to waste much time on political debates and that the tendency was for moving immediately to solve the homeland's problems. Moreover, the dialogue has risen above all forms of partisan oneupmanship and above the demand for relative representation in the interim cabinet and all have agreed to establish specific principles for selecting the deputy ministers for the transitional cabinet whose term has been set at 1 year.

As for the question concerning the main features of the charter which governs our actions in the interim period, it is divided into two parts: one part pertaining to the tasks of the interim period and the second part pertaining to the form of the institutions on which the political system must be established during the interim period. The rules necessary for bringing to account the corrupters, graft-money takers and the people who abused their influence during the administration of the defunct regime have also been laid down. Perhaps one of the most important points I must underline in this part of the charter is the full agreement on solving the problems of both the north and the south. The charter also stipulates that the TMC shall carry out the tasks of sovereignty and legislation and that there shall be a council of ministers comprised of 15 ministers.

As for the parties, it is natural that under the canopy of the democratic system we should open the door for all the parties and that we cannot say that this or that party has or does not have popular support because the judge in this regard is the outcome of the elections. Insofar as we are concerned, we have opened the door for an announcement of the parties and have agreed to register these parties in principle. The requests will be entrusted to a technical committee to make sure that they meet the necessary prerequisites.

As for the issues covered by the interim-period charter, they are numerous. For example, insofar as stemming the economic deterioration in Sudan is concerned, the charter believes that the deterioration has not materialized as a result of the problems of desertification, drought and the vast numbers of refugees. It is true that these problems have contributed to intensifying the economic situation. But it is also true that the blame falls on the shoulders of the former regime because it did not formulate policies founded on scientific bases and relying on guiding the economy and modernizing its phases. The charter also points out that it is essential that the problem of the south be given priority of solution during the interim period. Solving the problem of the south can be achieved within the framework of regional self-rule founded on democratic bases and in accordance with specific powers that bring about actual participation by all the political forces.

#### Transitional Period's Tasks

[Question] What is your visualization of what is required during the transitional period?

[Muhammad] The urgent task now facing all the Sudanese masses from one end of the country to the other is to be vigilant in this phase and to devote their efforts to production and work. The Sudanese economy will only be built by the Sudanese themselves. It will not be built with reliance on the foreign aid, grants and support received from fraternal countries but will basically be built in reliance on every farmer, craftsman and worker.

All the pitfalls and obstacles impeding a popular onrush toward increased production have disappeared with the fall of the former regime, thus providing all citizens at their various levels with the opportunity and with the right

and healthy climate to rush toward greater production in order to create in Sudan an economic revival that secures for Sudan the right circumstances to overcome its crushing economic crisis.

I believe that the democratic climate being experienced by Sudan at present must be utilized in a positive and sound manner to develop the means of production, especially since the masses who staged the popular uprising have agreed unanimously on the need to deal with the economic crisis internally and before relying on the outside world. Therefore, it is necessary that the economic crisis be at the center of the interest of the national, political and trade union groupings which are now debating the political situation and the means proposed for Sudan in the coming phase. Their interests must also be topped by the issue of their employing their capabilities to project immediate and long-range economic plans whose implementation begins immediately so that we may be able to achieve the goals for which the masses rose against the vanquished regime.

[Question] In your capacity as the minister of defense, how do you view the role required of the armed forces in the current and coming phases?

[Muhammad] The armed forces have two fundamental roles: the first is to protect national unity and the second is to contribute to enhancing the economy so that we may reach the vicinity of stability and prosperity. Before explaining these two points, I would like first to assert that the Sudanese armed forces have always been the conscience of the people, experiencing the people's sentiments and tied to the people in a fundamental way. The Sudanese armed forces' history has always proven that they have never been aligned against the people's will and have never been an instrument of oppression against the people.

[Question] It has been frequently reiterated internally and abroad that the armed forces will continue to rule even after the interim period.

[Answer] We have stressed repeatedly that when the armed forces took the reins of government on 6 April, they moved out of their awareness and belief that they were implementing the masses' will. On this basis, I fully assert that we in the TMC have taken the oath to return to our positions as a platoon contributing to building the homeland. We have no aspirations to seize power or to keep it. What we are interested in primarily is to lead Sudan to stability and real development. I stress here that there is mutual trust between the interim cabinet and the TMC in this regard.

#### Egyptian-Sudanese Relationship

[Question] What about the future of Egyptian-Sudanese relations, especially since some circles outside Sudan have tried to cast doubts on these relations and on the future of integration?

[Muhammad] The bonds of fraternity, blood, history, common destiny and the common goal between Egypt and Sudan cannot be subject to whims or personal

ends. Therefore, these relations are expected to grow and flourish in a positive manner that achieves the strategic goals of the Nile Valley.

Sudan has been and will continue to be a genuine dimension for Egypt as Egypt has been and will continue to be the entity extending to Sudan. The relationship between the two countries is a fateful relationship that cannot but continue to grow and flourish, especially in view of the noble, great and glorious position taken by the fraternal Egyptian people, led by President Husni Mubarak, toward the 6 April revolution. The TMC asserted in the first hours that the Egyptian-Sudanese relationship is not subject to acts of oneupmanship and is not tied to individuals and that it will prosper even more and in a manner that serves the common interests of the two states of the Nile Valley.

The coming days must inevitably witness the further development of Egyptian-Sudanese relations--a development that will take the relations out of the phase of slogans and into the phase of actual implementation. Both peoples are in need of a true merger of the interests to achieve the valley's growth and prosperity and to enable it to take its rightful place.

As for integration between the two countries, it has never been and will never be an option or a temporary phase. Rather, it is a must be dictated by the inevitable geographic, historical and popular overlapping of the Nile Valley and a requirement demanded by the nature of the age. Integration is nothing but a formula for relations that have been firm for thousands of years. This integration will stay and will never end. Therefore, we believe that the future direction of the integration must move toward the phase of implementation and toward the transformation of this integration into a reality felt by the two peoples. One of our interests in Egypt and Sudan will be that of achieving the largest degree of popular participation in the integration projects and of purging this integration of the idleness or tepidity it has experienced so that the citizen may feel its fruits.

#### Handing Authority over to Civilians

[Question] The interview with Staff Brig 'Uthman 'Abdallah Muhammad again turned to the issue of handing authority over to the civilians, and I asked him: What are the features of the coming interim phase insofar as political, partisan and information action is concerned?

[Muhammad] The interim period has been set at 12 months and agreement has been reached on a general idea of what must be done during this period, namely:

- Permit parties to be formed and to engage in activity.
- Prepare for the elections through a neutral election committee selected in coordination between the TMC and the council of ministers. This committee will be entrusted during this period to cooperate with the TMC in supervising the preparation for the elections, in holding the elections and in announcing their results.



- Form a constituent assembly, a national assembly or an assembly under any agreed-upon name to draft and pass the country's permanent constitution. This assembly will then be turned into a parliament for a term of 3-4 years.

- Elect the cabinet from within the parliament so that it may begin exercising its powers. At the same time, the TMC and the interim council of ministers will be dissolved automatically.

As for information, it is well known that all parties publish newspapers to speak for them. Therefore, this period will also witness the information action charter [press code of honor] to agree on the limit by which the information movement can contribute to enriching Sudan's political actions while steering clear of vituperation and futile arguments.

[Question] The number of parties registered in Sudan so far has risen astronomically in comparison with the size of Sudan's population. Don't you think that such a number may create some sort of political chaos in this phase?

[Muhammad] The democratic climate now existing in Sudan after 16 years of repression will inevitably generate manifestations which are healthy that cause no concern because democracy itself will determine the survival or non-survival of these parties when the elections are held. The only right of the survival of these parties will be the number of popular votes each party gets. The masses have proven their constant vigilance and their ability to select the fittest and best.

This does not prevent establishing a formula defining the number of parties which will continue to exist after the elections. This is one of the interim cabinet's tasks.

#### After Formation of Interim Cabinet

And now, what are the features of the picture on the other side, i.e., on the side of the interim civilian cabinet?

How does the interim civilian cabinet view the coming political, economic, and social transition phase? How can this cabinet get rid of the legacy of the past 16 years?

What, specifically, is this cabinet's projection regarding the concerns of the coming phase and what are the solutions proposed by it to overcome the consequences of the recent past and to achieve the objectives of the popular uprising?

Those who had expected Dr al-Jazuli Daf'allah to be selected to head the new interim cabinet as of the start of the dialogue on the formation of this cabinet had the evidence and the justifications.

Dr al-Jazuli Daf'allah al-'Aqib was born in the village of al-Danaqilah, in Madani, in 1935. He graduated from the Khartoum Medical College in 1959 and

was sent on an educational scholarship to London in 1966 and became a member of the London College of Physicians in 1969. He was then sent on an academic grant to Japan in 1980 where he specialized in the study of the digestive system and stomach cancer and has worked as specialist in al-Qadarif Hospital. During the 1964 revolution, he held the position of provincial secretary for the town of Rifa'ah and its vicinity. He has taken part in numerous international conferences and has held the position of chairman of the Doctors Union from 1982 until the present.

In an interview with AKHIR SA'AH, new prime minister Dr al-Jazuli Daf'allah pointed out that the council of ministers will perform the tasks of the executive authority and prepare ordinary legislation which will be drafted in the form of proposals to be passed by the sovereignty council, embodied in the TMC. He also pointed out that there is a committee that is conducting studies to fill the gaps existing in the 1956 constitution and to define the relationship between the cabinet and the TMC. Responding to a question, Dr Daf'allah stressed that the cabinet will function within a national framework that is free of partisan affiliations, pointing out that "left, right and center" are nothing but alien and imported ideas that "harbor within their folds qualities and concepts that divert us from our fundamental problems." Dr al-Jazuli also noted that all the suspect relations and policies established by the hateful May regime with Arab and foreign countries without the knowledge of the Sudanese people will be recodified. In this respect, Dr Daf'allah stressed that the general principles that bind Sudan and Egypt are founded on everlasting relations. He also emphasized the need to employ these relations in the service of the interests of the two peoples.

#### Problem of South and Protecting Revolution

Regarding the problem of the south, Dr Daf'allah asserted that the cabinet will exert ceaseless efforts to establish direct contacts with John Garang wherever he is in order to supply him with the facts concerning the popular revolution and to begin the policy of democratic dialogue with him on the basis of entrenching the foundations of a sound democracy.

Dr Daf'allah further stressed that protecting the revolution from plotters and corrupters requires that we arm ourselves with revolutionary vigilance, with a national sentiment and with national unity. He also emphasized that the cabinet will exert efforts to expose and bring into the open the practices of the defunct regime so that the entire world may realize what the dictatorship of the individual is.

[Question] You, as well as the Sudan Salvation Charter on which the trade unions and parties agreed, have focused on the need to bring the corrupters to account. How will this be done?

[Daf'allah] Liquidating the defunct regime means eliminating all the faulty practices which paralyzed the Sudanese people's capabilities in all spheres. It also means eliminating all the institutions which operated against the people, such as the State Security Agency--the symbol of oppression and intimidation. We must also purge the national information media of those

who were intellectually and organizationally tied to the previous regime. We must, moreover, purge the Sudanese economy of parasites and corrupters and achieve the ideal independence for Sudan's resources.

[Question] How will your government hand over power to the masses?

[Daf'allah] This will take place through the free and democratic election of a constituent assembly to draft Sudan's constitution.

[Question] What are the important issues which the cabinet views as priorities for its activities in this phase?

[Daf'allah] Containing and solving the problem of the south. I believe that participation in the interim cabinet by the southern brothers living in Khartoum is a step in the right direction toward solving the problem of the south. On the other hand, dialogue must be held with brother John Garang who is abroad and who has his well-known positions. It is our belief that the current democratic climate makes it possible to discuss everything.

[Question] And what about the deteriorating economy?

[Daf'allah] It is our belief that the solution comes from having the Sudanese rely on themselves by increasing production and rationalizing the resources available in Sudan. We must also turn to brothers and friends to help Sudan strengthen its economy.

[Question] What about Sudan's foreign policy?

[Daf'allah] The damage done by the previous regime must be mended and the good-neighbor policy must be established. At the Arab level, efforts must be exerted to combine and unite the Arab forces, to steer away from axes and to support the Palestinian cause without oneupmanship. Internationally, we will support positive neutrality and the establishment of relations with all countries in a manner that serves Sudan's interests.

[Question] What about Egyptian-Sudanese relations?

[Daf'allah] They are firm and everlasting. This is how they have been in the past and how they must be in the future. In their growth and prosperity, these relations have been ahead of governmental legislation and efforts must be exerted to employ this relationship in the interests of the two peoples.

[Question] There remains an important question: is the interim cabinet inclined toward abolishing the application of the Islamic Shari'a?

[Daf'allah] The Sudanese people are religious by nature and the Islamic laws were being applied before they were advocated by the defunct regime. But the way they were applied, which was remote from the spirit and tolerance of Islam, is what led to the excesses that have taken place. The Islamic Shari'a is staying. A modification might be needed. However, the issue is

left up to consultation with all and to hearing the various viewpoints and the decision will then be up to the people.

#### Dimensions of Problem of South

In an interview with Samuel Aru Bol, the deputy prime minister and southern politician, AKHIR SA'AH asked:

[Question] Of whom is the South Sudan Political Grouping, which you head, comprised and what are its political ideas?

[Bol] This grouping encompasses most of the south's citizens, including the SANO Party, the Southern Front, Anya Nya I, the intellectuals, the craftsmen and all groups of southern citizens. The reason for forming the grouping is to end the ongoing war in the south so that peace and stability may prevail and to abolish Presidential Decree No 1 of 1983 in accordance with which the southern region has been divided. This has been implemented. Moreover, this grouping demands that a charter to arbitrate between the various sides be drawn up during the interim period, in addition to conducting an immediate investigation of the practices which corrupted political life under the defunct regime. This grouping also demands that national unity be strengthened and that the spirit of fraternity and coexistence between all the Sudanese people with their various political and religious beliefs be encouraged by abolishing the Islamic Shari'a laws promulgated in September 1983.

[Question] Do you believe that the Islamic Shari'a is not at all fit for government in Sudan?

[Bol] I did not say that at all. Our political grouping for South Sudan respects religious and respects Islam as a religious faith. The disagreement is only over the application of the laws Numayri promulgated in September 1983.

[Question] What is your conception for solving the problem of the south and for putting an end to the ongoing war there?

[Bol] We demand that negotiations be started immediately with the Sudanese Popular Liberation Army and the Sudanese Popular Liberation Movement, provided that this be preceded by a general amnesty and by a cease-fire under the supervision of international observers and provided that this be coupled with drawing up a charter to arbitrate between all the parties concerned during the interim period. Direct negotiations have actually begun and we hope that they will succeed in achieving Sudan's state and national unity.

[Question] Frankly, what is your opinion of John Garang's position, which seems to be intransigent, vis-a-vis achieving a solution to end the bloodshed?

[Bol] John Garang represents only one faction of the citizens of South Sudan. If Garang is still demanding until this moment the liberation of Sudan, then we ask: Liberate it from whom?

The democratic climate now existing in Sudan permits every individual to express his opinions freely. Therefore, the arena is open to John Garang



to express to the Sudanese people the Marxist principles in which he believes. The people will be the judge in determining this place, and the masses are the best judge.

John Garang receives military aid from the Soviet Union, Libya and Ethiopia, in addition to the fact that his movement is a tribal movement that has left the gravest impact as a result of its serious practices in the areas of Terakeka and Deng Bol in the Equatoria region. Our grouping urges that the difference in opinion be a national difference that is not financed or manipulated by any foreign force because to permit such financing or manipulation is to permit international ambitions to infiltrate Sudan.

[Question] So what is next insofar as the south is concerned?

[Bol] The Higher Military Council has issued its decision abolishing Presidential Decree No 1, which provides for dividing the south into three regions.

General Siwar-al-Dhahab also issued his decision forming the Higher Transitional Administrative Council to manage the southern regions under the chairmanship of Maj Gen James Loro, a TMC member. This decision states that the member of the Higher Transitional Administrative Council from each of the regions will be responsible for managing his region until the entire problem is solved, provided that the southern region be managed during the interim period by the Higher Transitional Administrative Council from Juba until proposals are passed by the national conference for the south. The decision also stipulates that the Higher Council issue the decision to insure the distribution of executive work in the southern region.

The question now is: what is in store for the Trade Union Grouping after the interim period?

Some in Khartoum believe that with the parties taking over power, these parties will attract the members of the unions on the basis of the programs they will project in their action charters.

Others believe that this grouping, which stirred the Sudanese street, represents in itself a political entity which will have a major impact on political life in the coming phase, either in the form of a party or in its present form as a national grouping that encompasses many of society's segments. But it is premature to declare final results regarding the position which the grouping will hold after the interim period.

As for the second side of this axis, namely the parties, we can say as a start that these parties, though not enjoying freedom of action throughout the years of Numayri's rule, have not lost their political roots throughout these years by virtue of their tribal affiliations and family ties in Sudan. Even though these words apply to al-Ummah Party and the Democratic Unionist Party, it cannot be accurate insofar as the other parties, such as the Ba'th Party, the Communist Party and some southern parties, are concerned.



A review of these parties and of their structures enables us to shed a direct light on the position of the parties during the interim period and thereafter.

First, Democratic Unionist Party [DUP]: it consists of a broad front and is said to represent the Sudanese middle class, some merchants and some businessmen. It was founded by the late leader Isma'il al-Azhari who died in the early 1970's. This party has also lost a number of traditional leaders, including Mubarak Razzuq, Yahya al-Fadl, al-Shaykh 'Ali 'Abd-al-Rahman, al-Sharif al-Hindi, Hasan 'Awadallah and al-Shaykh al-Murdi. The party is comprised of two parties, namely the Democratic Union -- which is led by al-Shaykh Muhammad 'Uthman al-Mirghani, the leader of al-Khatmiyah, and Ahmad Zayn-al-'Abidin -- and the National Unionist Party [NUP], which was formed by 'Ali Mahmud Hasanayn, Ahmad Mukhtar, 'Ali Abu Sunnah, 'Abd-al-Sadiq Muhammad 'Abd-al-Sadiq and a number of university professors. The two parties merged in the DUP in 1968. This party is currently led by al-Shaykh Muhammad 'Uthman al-Mirghani and it believes in the need for unity with Egypt. In an interview with AKHIR SA'AH, Muhammad 'Uthman 'Ali al-Mirghani said:

We have projected our clear idea of the political movement in the coming phase. This visualization can be defined as follows:

1. Clinging to the Islamic tendency and the national unity.
2. The need for our action to be governed by three principles: democracy based on the concept of consultation, full respect for man's freedom within the framework of the law, the people's interest and justice for all people.
3. We believe in the need for abidance by Islamic logic, which has constituted the demand of the national forces since independence, so as to achieve the values of Islam and to entrench its principles, provided that this be coupled by serious efforts on the part of the legalists and of the Shari'a ulema to correct the Islamic Shari'a laws which the former regime misunderstood.
4. The DUP believes in the need for the establishment of firm relations between Egypt and Sudan on the basis of purging these relations of the impurities that tarnished them in the preceding period.
5. This party also believes that the 6 April revolution is as genuine and pure as the Sudanese people and that it is a practical response to the oppression of the defunct regime.

Second, al-Ummah Party: despite the successive blows dealt by the previous regime to this party in particular, it has been able to preserve its bases and its leadership, which is embodied in al-Sadiq al-Mahdi. Even though this party has lost some prominent traditional personalities, such as Muhammad Ahmad Mahjub, 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Rahman Naqdallah and 'Adb-al-Rahman al-Nur, and even though it has lost at the level of the al-Ansar sect which is supported by al-Imam al-Hadi, al-Ummah Party has been able to extend itself to the modern segment of Sudanese society, according to al-Sadiq al-Mahdi.

In the course of talking of the party's political ideology, al-Sadiq al-Mahdi said that al-Ummah Party is an Islamic party that believes in the application of the Islam that takes into consideration consultation in politics and social justice in the economy and that implements the Shari'a in a manner compatible with the circumstances of the age and opens up to all religions on the basis of the Koran and the Sunna. As for the party's foreign policy, al-Sadiq al-Mahdi said: We support the need to build up the Arab force to confront Israel so that the Arab nation may be able to attain a just solution for the Palestinian problem. Moreover, we support nonalignment and a good-neighbor policy.

As for Egypt, we support continuation of an Egyptian-Sudanese relationship emanating from sound bases that insure the growth of these relations.

The observers believe that al-Ummah Party is one of the biggest organized forces that are committed to a clear leadership. It is evident from the political line currently projected by al-Ummah Party that the party is trying to attract all the political forces with their various affiliations. Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi said that even the communists are entitled to form a communist party that reflects their views. Regarding the legislative aspect of al-Ummah Party's program, al-Sadiq al-Mahdi projects the idea of free elections but on the condition that one-third of the parliamentary assembly be formed on the basis of the closed districts belonging to the modern social forces. There is no doubt that this is an important development of al-Ummah Party's political concepts.

Third, Muslim Brotherhood: of its well-known leaders, this party has only lost Muhammad Salih 'Umar. But this party is currently suffering from a sharp split, with the main wing of the split led by Dr Hasan al-Turabi who was arrested by ex-President Numayri in the final days of his administration although Numayri had previously supported al-Turabi. Dr al-Turabi is now trying to form a broad Islamic front that rallies behind the Islamic laws. The other wing is led by Sadiq 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Majid, who was known for his animosity toward Numayri's regime up to the last moment.

Fourth, Sudanese Communist Party: this party lost its historical leaders in the wake of July 1971 Communist coup attempt when party leader 'Abd-al-Khalig Mahjub and party secretary al-Shafi 'Ahmad al-Shaykh were executed. Moreover, the former regime pursued the Communist Party relentlessly throughout the past 16 years. Only two of the leaders of this party have survived, namely Muhammad Ibrahim Nuqud and al-Tijani al-Tayyib.

Fifth, Socialist Arab Ba'th Party: the fact is that there is not much information about this party. It has recently surfaced among university and high school students and has been well known for its underground activity against Numayri's regime, thus gaining a limited popular dimension. Moreover, this party's members were subjected to persecution because of their political activity and some of them were tried by the courts recently. Some of this party's leaders who were living abroad have returned to Khartoum recently, such as Badr-al-Din Mudaththir who had lived in Iraq as a member of the Ba'th Party National Command.

Southern parties: the southern parties have not yet crystallized clearly. But if we take a look at the parties which existed before the May regime, we can say that they were confined to the SANO Party and the Southern Front Party. These parties have not continued with their past structures. Therefore, all that is reported about them does not go beyond the framework of the organization announced recently under the name of the Southern Grouping, which has negotiated with the TMC. This grouping has obtained three cabinet positions, including that of deputy prime minister which is now held by Samuel Aroe Bol. As for John Garang, even though he has no party among the parties existing in the arena now, he has a military force which must be taken into the calculations of those who plan for the coming political phase in Sudan.

8494

CSO: 4504/344

BAHRAIN

AGRICULTURAL LOAN PROCESS ORGANIZED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 27 Apr 85 pp 40,42

/Text/ The ministry of Agriculture in Bahrain issued the first order of its kind setting up the process of agricultural loans in the country. The purpose of this order is to provide loans on easy terms to farmers and those who wish to invest in the agricultural field.

It established the granting of large loans to encourage citizens in seven principle fields, which are: greenhouse agriculutre, agricultural machinery, dairy projects, and the improvement and establishment of date projects. The order has established groups of loans according to the following manner:

- Short term loans, whose value is limited to 80 percent of the project, such that it does not exceed 10,000 dinars.
- Medium term loans, whose value is limited to 60 perent of the cost of the project, such that its value does not exceed 30,000 dinars.
- Long term loans, whose value is limited to 50 percent of the cost of the project, such that it does not exceed 100,000 dinars.

The short term loan will be given to the borrower in one installment if it is within 2,500 dinars, and if it is more than that, it will be paid in three installments. The medium term loans will be paid in four installments, and the long term loans will be paid in five installments.

The law stipulated that a loan be granted only to one having Bahraini citizenship who is at least 21 years old and who owns the land where the project will be set up. The law stipulated that no new loan be permitted until 50 percent of the first loan is repaid, and with an order from the minister of agriculture, it will be possible for a new, additional loan to be granted if the granted loan is not enough to complete the agricultural project. The Housing Bank will be entrusted with operations of paying and obtaining loans, in view of the fact that there is no Agricultural Bank in the country.

12547  
CSO: 4404/331

BAHRAIN

FOREIGNERS BANNED FROM GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 27 Apr 85 pp 42,44

/Text/ The government of Bahrain decided--in light of steps taken to rationalize spending and reduce certain expenditures in the 1986/1987 budget--to ban the appointment of foreigners to any vacant position in the government, and to gradually dispense with foreigners.

Mr 'Isa Burashid, deputy minister of finance and economics, indicated that this decision was taken as a result of the reduction of allocations for the budget for salaries and wages in the government by 5 percent this year, 1985, and by 10 percent during the next 2 years, 1986/1987.

He said that this reduction would mean a savings of 10 million Bahraini dinars in 1985 alone in the budget for salaries and wages in government sectors. Prior to the steps taken to reduce it, it totaled 212.9 million Bahraini dinars.

He explained that it had been decided to reduce the allocations of the second, third and fourth sections of the budget by 10 percent for the current year, 1985, and it has also been decided to freeze this allocation following the reduction that will befall it in 1986/1987.

It is known that the second section of the budget is earmarked for costs for services, and the value of what was paid out prior to the reduction was 37.9 million Bahraini dinars.

Likewise, payments from the third section of the budget, earmarked for expenses for consumer goods, had reached a value of 34.9 million Bahraini dinars prior to the reduction, and the value of payments from the fourth section, earmarked for capital goods, had reached 12 million Bahraini dinars prior to the reduction. On the other hand, it was decided not to touch the budget for projects, which was 218 million Bahraini dinars for 1985.

It was decided to form a number of committees to review aspects of spending to reduce duplication in some operations; examples of that are the use of computer systems, setting up direct telephone systems and telex systems, regulating publications, and reducing the number of government delegations traveling abroad.



BAHRAIN

BRIEFS

**BANKING STATISTICS**--The combined balances of 18 commercial banks in Bahrain had increased by 211.09 million Bahraini dinars by the end of 1984 over the balances of these banks at the end of 1983. The latest report put out by the Bahrain Monetary Organization explained that this increase had come as a natural consequence of the size of this balance reaching 1,871,074,000 dinars in 1983. It also occurred as a result of the value of private sector demand deposits in these banks reaching 161,003,000 dinars, and of private sector time deposits reaching 110,049,000 dinars, and of private sector savings with these banks attaining the value of 468,097,000 dinars; government deposits, 240,048,000; foreign debts 104,099,000; debts owed to the banks, 25,092,000; capital and reserves, 130,089,000; other debts, 75,076,000; and their accounts equivalent to 544 million dinars at the end of 1984. At the same time, the assets of these banks had increased greatly by the end of 1984, since their volume reached 1,327,006,000 dinars, compared to 1,228,000,000 dinars at the end of 1983. /Text/ /Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 27 Apr 85 p 40/  
12547

**COMMITTEE ON ECONOMIC SLOWDOWN**--The administrative board of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Bahrain has decided to form a special committee to study the phenomenon of the slowdown in economic growth in the country and to submit the necessary proposals that might rectify the economic situations in all sectors. The committee will be formed of certain members of the chamber, certain influential economics specialists, and others who have expertise and competence in this field, in order to study the phenomenon of the slowdown in economic activity, the saturation of the local market with commercial shops, and the issuance of licenses. It will also review the problems of the real estate and contracting sectors, the participation by the private sector in development programs related to supporting the industrial sector, and how the private sector might benefit from projects to develop the tourism structure and to build Bahrain up as an international center for offering services. Mr Muhammad Yusuf Jalal, president of the chamber, said that the committee would prepare a memorandum dealing with all the economic aspects and problems that have been brought up, but he expressed his belief that there are no quick, magic solutions for all the problems and issues that

the economic sector in the country is suffering from. He said, "The first step consists of determining the ~~problems and working~~ with the various government agencies to study the causes to arrive at the desired solutions . . and that might take some time." /Text/ /Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 4 May 85 p 33/ 12547

CS0: 4404/331

ISRAEL

## ANALYSIS OF PROBLEMS IN JORDAN VALLEY SETTLEMENTS

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 11 Apr 85 Supplement pp 12-13

[Article by Dor Oren: "In the Jordan Depression"]

[Text] Avi Cohen came to the Jordan Valley 10 years ago. At the time he belonged to a NAHAL [Military Pioneering Youth] group that was sent to the kibbutz Yitib [acronym for Yitzhaq Tabankin] before their military service. After the service, Avi returned to Yitib and decided to make his home there. He spent 3 years in the kibbutz that bore the name of Yitzhaq Tabankin, one of the leaders of the Kibbutz Movement. "That was the best time of my life," says Avi. After the Kibbutz Movement decided to dismantle the settlement, Avi remained there by himself. He had difficulty leaving the place that he describes as "the most beautiful I ever saw in my life." For 1 month he took care of it by himself, then finally closed the gates and left. "That was the saddest day in my life," he adds. "The only consolation is that I met my wife there." Today, this tall and strongly built man is employed by Moshav Meshua as orchard organizer. In a few months the moshav board will decide on his application to join the moshav as a regular member.

"Believe me," he says, as we stroll among the fruit trees of Moshav Meshua, "my fondest dream is to return one day to Yitib. I have wonderful memories of it. Even today, whenever I am in the neighborhood of Yitib, my heart beats faster. Sad. Very sad that it had to end this way. But you know what?" he adds with an ironical smile, "perhaps there is nevertheless something positive about what happened there. It should serve to remind people living in the area of what can befall them tomorrow. And believe me, those are not idle words. They do not like to hear this in the Valley, but the situation of many of the settlements is not far removed from that of Yitib. That is the reality, old man.

Kibbutz Yitib undoubtedly serves as a warning signal to the other 16 settlements in the Jordan Valley. The kibbutz was started in 1970 as a NAHAL settlement. It was given civilian status 6 years later, and Kibbutz Giv'at Hayyim became its sponsor, as is customary in the Kibbutz Movement.

### Tabankin Turning in His Grave

There is controversy about the causes that brought about the dismantling of the kibbutz. Some claim that political considerations within the

Kibbutz Movement were responsible for it. Others believe that it was the human material that formed the kibbutz. Whatever the reason, 4 years after becoming a civilian settlement, kibbutz Yitib closed its gates. "I have no doubt," says Motke Keshet, one of the members of Giv'at Brenner, "that had Yitzhaq Tabankin still been alive, he would not have like it. This is a resounding defeat for the Kibbutz Movement. A pamphlet was recently published under the title 'Yitib Will Not Fall a Second Time.' In July of this year we hope to bring people here."

Motke Keshet is the social coordinator of the "Bonim" group that has been in the area for the past few weeks. He believes that this time things will be different. "Any settlement bearing the name of Yitzhaq Tabankin must succeed. The name is too important for the enterprise to be allowed to fail again."

Controversies about past difficulties and question marks about the future are not the lot of kibbutz Yitib alone. They are characteristic of all the valley settlements, including the township of Ma'ale Efra'im, and become exacerbated when one considers what goes on east and west of the area, and when one tries to draw comparisons. And that is when frustration takes hold.

In the west blossom the settlements of Judaea and Samaria. Some 45 percent of the settlement budget have been poured into that area in the past years, and the results are easily perceived. The Jordan Valley people closely follow the rapid construction and massive development work carried out by their neighbors in the west. Heartbreaking. "Envy? Not necessarily," says Miri Adar, in charge of development at Ma'ale Efra'im. "But definitely frustration at the discrimination."

And in the east, on the other side of the river, there are the agricultural projects of the Jordanian government. In the past 10 years, the Jordanian government poured millions of dollars (and foreign experts) into agricultural development. Even without binoculars one can see the plastic sheets and sprinklers (made in Israel, but with the manufacturer's name scratched out) on the other side of the river. In the valley it is said that things are coming along nicely across the border.

The anxiety mounts when they consider what is happening on the Israeli side of the Jordan Tidewater. The plan had been to prepare some 30,000 dunams along the Jordan for cultivation. The IDF, the Jewish National Fund, and NAHAL settlements carried out the work (thicket and mine clearing) with a view to supplying additional land for the valley settlements. But the big project hit a snag. Only 12,000 dunams have been cleared so far, and only 4,000 are actually being cultivated at present (recently, kibbutz Galgal abandoned the land allocated to it in the area!) "Looking! Of course I am looking," says Avraham (Kopo) Kopolovicz from moshav Mehula. "Just look what is going on on the other side and look at the situation here. Soon the desert vegetation will again cover up everything. And there everything is blooming!"

## Only 4,500 Souls

Frustration at the failure of the Jordan Tidewater project reflects the general disappointment with the situation in the valley. Since the establishment of the first settlement in the valley over 10 years ago, only 950 families (some 4,000 people) came here. Some 750 families live in the agricultural settlements, and another 250 families in what was to become the township of Ma'ale Efraim. In the past years most of the farms (especially those on the mountain top) suffered heavy losses because of crop failures. Currently the debt of the valley settlements totals \$15 million. Members of some of the moshavs prefer to give up farming and seek their luck in other jobs. About 1 year ago 20 families left the moshav Netiv Hagdud. There and in the moshav Ro'i the Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency had to appoint special boards to manage the farms, after local ones failed in the attempt.

People in the Jordan Valley prefer to talk about the mistakes made here in the past and about the helplessness of the government. Yisra'el Nedivi, who has been the chairman of the local council for the past 5 years, speaks about the difficult climate, water shortage, crops which were not suitable for the area, faulty planning, and many other difficulties. But that is only half the truth. The other half I find out in the other settlements, those that did succeed to adapt and that are almost independent economically (the development budget of each settlement is about \$250,000 a year). Such settlements are Pezel, Tomer, Meshua, and Mehula. Yehuda Reiness, the secretary of the moshav Mehula, says: "There are no miracles in farming settlements, and there is no secret for success. The one and only reason that moshav Mehula manages to exist without debts or crisis is quite simple: We do not try to live beyond our means. We never relied--as do other settlements in the area--on government promises. Our development has been gradual. We did not allow our members to run ahead unchecked. That is our secret."

Avraham (Kopo) Kopolovicz, also from moshav Mehula, adds: "When it comes to agriculture in Israel, there is a view that if you succeed, it is very well, but if you fail, it is not so terrible. Once every few years the government cancels debts and everything falls into place again. When the government does not cancel debts, the settlements get into trouble. That is precisely what happened in the valley. Even more absurd is the fact that people live here within two separate financial systems, one private and one collective. Under the second they lose money without a care, while under the first they live prosperously and even wastefully."

## Weak Leadership

There is an additional reason for this unfortunate situation, and that is lack of proper local leadership and indifference on the part of the inhabitants. As opposed to the settlements of Judaea, Samaria, and the Golan Heights, the Jordan Valley has failed to produce a serious leadership, capable of propelling the area forward. "We do not have here leaders like Hanan Porat or Rabbi Levinger," people say in the valley. "Recently, we



tried to find in the local council a farming manager, which is a very important position. No one was prepared to take it upon himself; those who were were not suited for it, while those who could have done the job declined. Each farmer in the area is concerned only with the success of his fields, and there is no one to take the whole area in hand and propel it forward."

No less than six settlement bodies are active in the valley: the Kibbutz Movement, the Moshav Movement, the Farmers Union, the Herut-Betar Movement, the Zionist Worker Movement, and the Religious Worker Movement. Although no tension or clash of interests is felt in the area, it is understood that each movement prefers to take care only of the settlements connected to it and to ignore the needs of the area as a whole.

"There is no doubt that I, too, am responsible for the failure of the area," says Yisra'el Nedivi, head of the local council. "However, far more responsible for this sad situation are the settlement bodies, the government, and of course, the difficult situation in which agriculture has been in recent years in Israel and throughout the world."

No one is oblivious of those facts. The Jordan Valley, which was to have competed with Ha'arava for the title of "greenhouse of Israeli agriculture," produces and exports vegetables (such as bell peppers, cabbage, eggplants, squash, etc.), grapes, dates and flowers. In recent years special emphasis was put on research and development, and one of the great achievements is the "Goldie" strain of yellow squash that has become very popular in European markets. Why were such things not considered earlier? Why was it necessary to wait for the 1980's in order to think and plan? "We did not notice that the situation was deteriorating in the past 2 years," says Miahia Pitro. "People were absorbed in their work and followed instructions from above in everything concerning farming. Farming is not a safe bet. And do not forget that in recent years, following the open bridges policy, Jordanian product has been a serious competitor."

#### No Investors

The settlement department of the Histadrut does not see settlement in the Jordan Valley as a failure. People there believe that the logical solution to the difficulties is "a change of concept concerning settlement," as spokesman Ze'ev Ben-Yosef put it. That is to say, it does not necessarily have to be farming settlements. This concept is supported by community leaders in the valley, and fits in with the Poliaris report compiled under the late Agriculture Minister Simcha Erlich with a view to planning the recovery of the Jordan Valley settlement. Among other things, the report envisages the development of tourism in the area.

Miahia Pitro explains: "Some 150,000 pilgrims travel every year on the road between Jerusalem and Tiberias. There are enough tourist attractions in the area to interest the pilgrims: the baptismal site Qezer al-Yahad, the Herodot Palace, the Quarnatal Monastery, the ancient Synagogue of Na'aran, and so forth. Safari trips can be organized for tourists in the Ga'on Hayarden, or trips to the hot springs of al-Maliah. The area has a tourist potential that should be developed."

Industrial potential should also be developed, say the people in the valley. Plants and developers should be drawn into the area. But reality is quick to shake up the dreamers. In the industrial area of Ma'ale Efra'im one is met by a deserted area of new buildings stretching over 5,000 dunams. "What is there here to attract developers?" asks Miri Adar in frustration.

"Common sense dictates that investors and plants should go for the special conditions offered them in Judaea and Samaria, which are geographically even closer to the center of the country. There is goodwill, there is room, and there is readiness, but there are no investors. This is the situation."

The steerers of the Israeli economy are aware of the dismal situation of the settlements in the Jordan Valley. This year it was decided to increase the budget allocation for the development of the area as compared to the development allocations for Judaea and Samaria. The Knesset Financial Commission has already met several times to discuss the difficulties in the area, but no practical decision has yet been made.

Community leaders in the valley have come to a sad conclusion: The assumption that there is national consensus on everything concerning settlement in the Jordan Valley is not necessarily true. This is also the reason for the cooperation--after long years of watching from the side--with the Judaea and Samaria council. Aya Batzar of the Tehiya Movement, who represents the Moshav Movement in the area, welcomes this trend. "We are an integral part of the entire area, and their fate is our fate. For that reason we must support them in all their struggles, otherwise we will continue to lag behind, as is currently the case."

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CSO: 4423/43

ISRAEL

# PROBLEMS OF UMM EL-FAHM MUNICIPALITY REVIEWED

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 18 Apr 85 p 9

[Article by Atallah Mansur]

[Text] Umm el-Fahm, the largest Arab village in Israel, has earned official recognition and soon the interior minister will declare it a city. This will mark the first time that an Arab village receives such recognition. The Interior Ministry arrived at the decision primarily because of demographic considerations. Umm el-Fahm has grown from a village of 4,000 in 1949 to 20,000. Some even say 25,000. When the council petitioned to be recognized as a municipality the Interior Ministry rejected the petition outright, claiming that the level of services in Umm el-Fahm could not possibly justify this status.

Paradoxically, it was Member of Knesset Kahane who helped Umm el-Fahm, when he announced last that he intended to visit the village in order to establish offices and organize the expulsion of its citizens across the border. The local council announced unequivocally that Kahane would not be allowed to set foot in the village. Statements by former Interior Minister Burg that he would grant the new member of Knesset all the protection he needed for him to visit anywhere he wanted, only heightened public interest in the drama surrounding the visit. In the end Umm el-Fahm and the thousands of Jews who came to demonstrate against Kahane won. Hashim Mahmid, head of the local council, and his friends of nearby MAPAM kibbutzim, decided to turn this victory to a lever for furthering the cause of Umm el-Fahm. He announced his intention to host in local homes any Jewish citizen who wanted to visit the village in order to prove that the opposition is to Kahane only and not to Jews in general. Hundreds took advantage of the invitation in September 1984. Since then about a thousand more visited, especially groups of students who come to meet and get to know students of the same age groups in Umm el-Fahm.

All these activities have turned public interest to Umm el-Fahm. When the Alignment lobbied for the election of Member of Knesset Shlomo Hillel as Knesset speaker, the Progressive Movement for Peace in the village agreed to support him in return for a promise for municipal recognition. Representatives of the Labor Party agreed. The council, though, did not derive much pleasure from the agreement. The council head was elected with HADASH support (he was also HADASH candidate to the Knesset and the first independent). The council coalition consists of Labor Party supporters, and the Villagers, who support

the extreme line of Arafat's opponents. The Progressive Peace Movement is not represented in the coalition and if it were up to the council head they would not even run in the next elections. In other words, he did not want their favors and went to meet Minister Ezer Weitzmann in order to elicit a promise from him to bring the subject up for discussion. The Interior Ministry appointed a commission which ultimately recommended giving the village the status of a city.

### A Paper City

Hashim Mahmid hopes that as mayor he will have more freedom to act to develop his city-on-paper. In the meantime he has 25,000 people, most of whom work outside the city. Every morning about 7,000 leave Umm el-Fahm for work all the way from 'Afula, Haifa and even Tel Aviv and Kfar Saba. Hundreds go to Elat and Qiryat Shemona. Those only come home for the weekend. Ironically, the largest employer is the local council. It has 170 employees. It is followed by the public schools, a trade school of the Labor Ministry and a council run high school which offers vocational training, including electronics and computer studies, too.

The Health Ministry has only one clinic in the village, restricted to treating new mothers and babies. About 8 years ago grounds were broken for a professional clinic and a maternity ward. The skeleton is still here and only attracts juvenile delinquents. It seems that eventually the project will be handed over to Kupat Holim, which will use it to broaden the services it now offers its members. Secretary of the workers' council in Umm el-Fahm, Yusuf Jabrin, says that close to 85 percent of the village's people are Histadrut members, insured by Kupat Holim. Few are members of Kupat Holim Me'uhedet. About 10 percent are not insured.

Another sore subject is the non-existent sewer. In its absence, and because of dense construction on a rocky hill, there is a serious sewage problem in the village. A survey conducted by the local council in the seventies revealed that close to 80 percent of home builders did not bother to or could not dig septic tanks to take care of their sewage. There has not been any improvement since. The stench and the sewage puddles on the destroyed roads create the impression that Umm el-Fahm is drowning in its sewage.

### Results of Failure

These health hazards are bound to have an effect on the population. Infant mortality, for example, is three times the national average. In 1972 the national average of infant mortality was 18 per 1,000. In Umm el-Fahm the rate was 46. In 1977 the national average was down to 13.8 per 1,000 in Umm el-Fahm it climbed to 47.4. In Nazareth, for comparison, infant mortality was 30.7 per 1,000 in 1972 and was down to 23.8 5 years later. In Taiyiba and Tira, with a rural Muslim population similar to Umm el-Fahm, infant mortality was even lower: in Taiyiba it was 28.2 and in Tira 21.6 per 1,000.

Yet, the population in Umm el-Fahm is constantly on the increase. In 1975 the percentage of people from large families was 71.9 (the national percentage was



13.8). In this respect, also, Umm el-Fahm was first among large Arab villages. In Taiyiba the percentage of people from large families was 73.5 in Shefar'am 67.7 in Nazareth 59.4 and in Tira 58.1.

Umm el-Fahm leads in numbers on welfare. About 3.3. percent of the population are on welfare. In 1978 the percentage in Tira was 2.4, in Nazareth 2.2, in Taiyiba 1.2 and in Shefar'am 0.7 (the national average then was 1.3). It also seems that people in Umm el-Fahm are poorer than their brethren in similar villages, if the number of car owners can be of any indication:

	1973	1978
Nazareth	61.7	76.6
Shefar'am	51.1	64.2
Tira	51	64
Taiyiba	39.9	44.6
Umm el-Fahm	24.3	25.2

#### Plans, No Funds

The new mayor looks these days like a new groom. He is enthusiastic and insecure. To all answers he responds by saying that he has plans but no money. He has a plan for developing an educational park, another plan for a sports arena. He has a plan for a market and a central bus station. The master plan includes 7,000 dunums instead of the current 2,000 as construction sites. Some of these sites are designated for government offices since the town has no police station and no courtroom. Even the religious judge, the qadi does not reside in his hometown. Only the Labor and Welfare Ministry is represented here in the form of an employment office and a center for vocational training.

There is no real industry in Umm el-Fahm. Maskit and Lodzia have secondary plants here. Some textile plants put in orders with small plants in the village, scattered in residential neighborhoods. The newest plant will produce tahini oil. It is a joint venture of the workers' council and one Umm el-Fahm resident, 'Arif Rushdi Aghbariyah. He already has several small textile plants but has not yet obtained a permit for his tahini oil plant.

The delay in establishing the local council until 1960 can be seen in the planning mess and the dense construction which created a labyrinth of alleys and transportation bottlenecks. Holding up the funds to correct the sewage problem does not help, either. The problem keeps mounting. They are not restricted to material issues, either. There are two radical Arab organizations which have emerged: Abna'al-Balad, or "the Locals," and al-Shabab al-Islami or Muslim Youth. Abna' al-Balad, or as they have come to be known, the Villagers, surfaced in 1973 when they first ran for the local council and succeeded in having one of their candidates, attorney Muhammad Kiwan elected. Since then the group has grown and the young academicians were joined by some jail "graduates." The leadership consists of groups of pragmatists and extremists. Some of them rejected any activity in any "Zionist" organization, from student organizations to the Histadrut and to the Knesset. There are others who maintain that Israeli Arabs ought to take advantage of any available forum in order to help themselves and their brethren in the West Bank and elsewhere.



Just prior to the last elections there formed a rift between the two groups. The academicians continued with their hard uncompromising line. The jail "graduates" split and formed a new organization named "the Locals of the Ansar Front." Both ran for the Umm el-Fahm council. Both were elected.

#### Massive Confiscations

The Muslem Youth concentrates on social activities. They raise millions of shekels annually to run a book store and subsidize books and notebooks for poor students. They control the PTA. They run camps to improve living conditions in the village. They forced the council (run by HADASH) to prohibit the sale of alcoholic beverages in its jurisdiction and to close food stores and coffee houses during Ramadan. It seems that their religious demands are not falling on deaf ears. Even the Hamid clan, known as "red," was forced to make room for the new winds and has just completed the construction of an elegant mosque in the village.

Abna' al-Balad can also point to their contribution to the community. In addition to their political activities they maintain ties with non-communist leftist organizations abroad, which have sent them contributions. They are now planning a community center, they contributed funds to the council for trash removal and an ambulance. They participated in a documentary on the lands of Umm el-Fahm. Umm el-Fahm people claim that toward the end of the British mandate they owned 150,000 dunums (including forests, grazing grounds, rocky land and fertile grain lands) and of those they now own only 28,000 dunums. It seems that on this point Umm el-Fahm suffered more than any other Arab village in Israel.

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ISRAEL

BRIEFS

**MORE TERRORIST ACTIVITY PREDICTED**--Senior security officers are afraid that in the wake of the IDF evacuation from Lebanon terrorist activity on the Golan and in Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip will increase. Our correspondent Hayim Hecht was told that on the basis of the experience in Lebanon, the terrorist organizations believe that Israel's policy can be changed by means of terrorism, and this tendency has indeed been reflected in a number of terrorist acts in recent weeks. Former Chief of Staff Knesset Member Rafa'el Eytan has criticized remarks by senior IDF officers who said it is impossible to cope with Shi'ite terrorism. Refa'el Eytan said these are silly declarations which have led the terrorist organizations to a logical conclusion from their point of view, namely, that it is worth their while to increase terrorist activity inside Eretz Yisra'el's borders. /Text/ /Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew  
0700 GMT 18 May 85/

**SOVIET ACTIVIST ARRIVES**--After waiting for an exit permit from the USSR for 5 years, a well-known Moscow gynecologist who became an orthodox Jew arrived in Israel this week. Dr Eliyahu Pushkin, aged 28, arrived in Israel on 19 May with his wife and daughter. He had been a leader of the underground Hebrew-teaching movement in Moscow. Other Soviet Jews who arrived recently in Israel are Leonid Zelkind, a computer programmer, Mordekhay Yudborovskiy and his family, Ze'ev Viner and Alter Dinner, all of whom plan to study at a yeshiva for married students. /Summary/ /Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 21 May 85  
p 3/

**ECONOMY STAGNATING**--The standard of living which dropped sharply at the end of last year has gone back to the level it was on the eve of the first package deal. There was a rise at the end of January, but in March and April retail sales were lower and back to the September 1984 period. This picture is true in building and in unemployment, too, but in investment the drop continues and the economy as a whole is still stagnating. As for the trade balance, the gap has widened with exports falling more than imports, and it, too, is more or less at the September 1984 level. Gross wages have gone down, but net wages have risen due to adjustment of income tax brackets. But if wages are compared to their peak, after the 1984 general elections, then those gross and net salaries have gone down. Looking at the revised 1984 figures, one can see that the economy stagnated last year. The standard of living dropped 8 percent per capita, productivity fell for the 3d year running, the balance of payments improved, but tax revenue was down especially from the self-employed and firms.

There is one slight comfort: A comparison of purchasing power with 10 EEC countries shows that while productivity per person measured in foreign exchange is 50 percent lower than abroad, in terms of purchasing power it is only 23 percent less: Israel is above Greece, Ireland and Portugal; similar to Spain; but lower than Italy or the United Kingdom. /Text/ /Jerusalem Domestic Service in English 1000 GMT 19 May 85/

POLL RESULTS--The public's main fear is unemployment, while price increases rank second. This emerges from a nationwide public opinion poll which was conducted by the PORI Institute and commissioned by HA'ARETZ. Of those polled, 66.8 percent said that "the main thing is to avoid a shortage of jobs, while 24.6 percent said that "the main thing is to avoid price increases." Only 2.2 percent of the public said that "the main thing is to ensure that the standard of living continues to rise and salaries continue to increase." Thus it appears that the public is prepared to accommodate the economic measures which will bring about a reduction in income and a lower standard of living, as long as unemployment does not develop. The greatest fear of unemployment was registered among the 18- to 29-year-old age group. The poll was conducted on a representative sample of 1,200 men and women from all over the country, who were individually interviewed. /Text/ /Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 20 May 85 p 1/

ECONOMY SEEN AS WORSE--A majority of the public believe that Israel's economic condition has worsened since the national unity government assumed office. This is the indication by a nationwide public opinion poll carried out by the PORI institute and commissioned by HA'ARETZ. Of all those polled, 47.4 percent believe that Israel's economic situation has deteriorated since the national unity government was formed, as opposed to 15.5 percent who believe that it has improved; 32.8 percent believe that the situation has neither improved nor deteriorated; and 4.3 percent expressed no opinion on the issue. The opinion that Israel's economic condition has worsened is more prevalent among Likud than Alignment voters. Among Likud voters 5.37 percent think Israel's situation has deteriorated, as compared to 38.7 percent among Alignment voters. The percent of those who believe Israel's economy has deteriorated exceeds 50 percent among people with a low education level or low income, as well as people of Asian and African descent. The poll included a representative sample of 1,200 people who were personally interviewed throughout the country. /Text/ /Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 19 May 85 p 1/

CSO: 4400/155

LEBANON

FORMER PREMIER DISCUSSES FUTURE SETTLEMENT PLANS FOR COUNTRY

London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 27 Mar 85 p 8

[Interview with Former Premier Sa'ib Salam: "The Christians Will Rise up against the Sharonists; There Are Encouraging Signs"]

[Text] [Former] President Sa'ib Salam is a political leader who has left a prominent mark on the modern history of Lebanon. His name, along with a few in his contingent, has become linked with the format on which Lebanon was founded. In spite of the events of the turbulent 10 years, the man's faith in Islamic-Christian coexistence has not been shaken, and he continues to be a proponent of it. However, as Sa'ib Salam understands the reconciliation on which Lebanon was founded, that constitutes a nation for the Christians, not a Christian nation, and his sense today is that the Christians, in the overwhelming majority, will rise up against what he calls the Sharonists, and that there are signs which offer good tidings.

Premier Sa'ib Salam acknowledges that the extremist Islamic ideological positions entertained by the Islamic man on the street have been an object of exploitation by some rebels with the aim of polarizing the Islamic community. Premier Salam considers "We find the appeal to convert the Christians to Islam and establish an Islamic republic in Lebanon loathsome since it is Khomeynist and communist in its motives, now that the appeal has become an imposition." Premier Salam rebukes the Arabs for their shortcomings vis-a-vis Lebanon and says, "Had it not been for the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and King Fahd, all the Arabs would have been the same by this standard."

Concerning President al-Jumayyil's position regarding the rebels, he says that he informed him that he had evidence that there were Israelis working with them. Concerning Syria's position on the rebellion, Premier Salam says "Syria has done things to deal with it and will do further things." Premier Salam praises the intelligent attitude of the Palestinians in Lebanon, their avoidance of provocation of strife and their cooperation with the Lebanese to control it.

Concerning the future of the Phalange Party, he says "After Pierre al-Jumayyil, the party is no longer as it used to be."

Herewith is the text of the conversation AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT held with him:

[Question] The dimensions of the events taking place in Sidon are serious because they are the start of a process of splitting up the population and are occurring simultaneously with the launching of the rebellion to establish a Christian canton. What practical measures and procedures might be taken to deal with this serious situation, especially since you, as emissaries of the Islamic meeting, have discussed the development of the situation with the president and the main figures in the government?

[Answer] What is going on in Sidon today is part of what has gone on on the Lebanese stage in the most recent days, especially with the Phalange and the Lebanese Forces. In the Christian community there are people we call "Sharonists" who were Sharon's agents. Sharon raised them, Sharon nourished them, and Sharon used them before and during his invasion of Lebanon. They still are of course "Israelis," as they were trained and the relationship between them and Israel has been confirmed. I am not the only one who views them in this light. Indeed, many of the people who do are intelligent Christians. We are always anxious to differentiate between these Sharonists and the Christian community, the Christian community in whose nationalist orientation we believe, because Lebanon, as everyone knows, was first of all founded on reconciliation between the Christians and Moslems and today, after everything that has gone on in the past 10 years, there is a general feeling among the great majority of Moslems and also our Christian brothers that they should put an end to these evils which have afflicted us at the hands of many people whose nationalist vision has not been proper, and they have returned to their Lebanese nature, wishing to cooperate once again over Lebanese reconciliation, save Lebanon from its ordeal and cooperate in bringing it back to its situation.

These Sharonists created a movement. They believed that through it, or with it, they would control the Christian community and consequently would hold the reins of affairs in Lebanon. As well as being Sharonists, that is, agents of Israel, and working in the interests of Israel, they imagine fantastic things about the establishment of a Christian entity which they would control in this Lebanese Arab environment.

When we effected this basic reconciliation, in 1943, our eyes were open. We in Lebanon did not relinquish the Arabhood of Lebanon, and we did not relinquish all the Arabs' hopes for their Arab relationships, but we paid that price in order to have our Christian brothers avoid the protection of a foreign country, indeed the protection of a foreign army, to which they were subject, on grounds that there would be an independent Arab country, a nation for the Christians, in Lebanon, not that Lebanon would be a Christian nation. There is a great distinction which the people who view us from outside the country must realize, and all Christians in this beloved nation must realize.

My feeling today is that the overall Christian public opinion, the great majority of it, will prevail over these Sharonists. There are signs today which augur well, to the effect that the awareness among intelligent persons and leaders among our Christian brothers is enough to enable them to prevail over these persons.



The birth pains are difficult. The birth pains are not easy, and what happened in Sidon is now famous and notorious. Those Sharonists in Sidon have detracted from the Israeli withdrawal and the heroic acts which came out of Sidon, not just the heroic acts of the resistance against the Israeli forces occupying Sidon but also the more heroic acts of resistance, in my view, the solidarity which manifested itself among all the groups, Moslems and Christians, and all the people active on the stage of Sidon. It has been proved that Israel did not achieve its objective in stirring up dissension after the withdrawal of its army, some people seized this opportunity which arose in Beirut, and these Sharonists in Sidon responded, split off from the united ranks in Sidon and deliberately committed this vile act of driving close to 30,000 people from their homes.

There is a town called 'Abra. 'Abra is a town with a Christian majority and there are some Moslems in it; what happened, however, is that the population in Sidon spread out into the hills near Sidon and annexed it to 'Abra, so that it became a residential area for all the people of Sidon. They came by force of arms and evacuated people who were isolated from their homes, and they have become refugees in Sidon. We are in constant contact with our brothers in Sidon. Intelligent people proceeded once again to follow up on their urgent efforts to eliminate this vile transgression, and there are signs today that these Sharonists themselves have felt first of all the weakness of their movement, which they had maintained in Beirut, and the weakness of their presence, and have started calling on the inhabitants to go back to their homes. In addition there are new elements, the first of which is the army, which we urgently requested of the government yesterday to act decisively in warding these Sharonists away from the inhabitants who had become secure. There are also other elements, in spite of the encouragement of Israel, whom the Israelis are behind. Indeed, the Israelis have a presence there, but they are the ones who are planning and acting. I hope that this crisis which has arisen today in Sidon will end and the Israeli action of provoking strife will be crushed, as the people of Sidon crushed it before.

#### The Rebellion within the Phalange

[Question] There are some people who believe that what has gone on in the eastern sections has been a reaction to the articles of Islamic fundamentalist dogma in West Beirut, such as the appeal for the establishment of an Islamic republic and the appeal to the Christians to convert to Islam. What is your answer to that?

[Answer] You should have noticed something, when I said that the people who carried out the rebellion, which, in my opinion is a Sharonist Israeli movement, have in the past 2 days started to claim that they want the army to be responsible for security everywhere and that is what their other Sharonist colleagues have also called for. In Sidon those people became aware of the weakness of their position. I do not say that we have finished with these Sharonists or the others. The labor is a difficult one. However, the forces which have come together on this have been a deterrent to them, and there also is the interconnection of numerous elements, including those which issue forth from some people who claim to speak in the name of the Islamic

community and speak through personal excitability or under incitement from outside the Islamic community and outside Lebanon, which completely scares the Christian community. For example, some people immediately and without any reservations call upon all Christians to embrace Islam. More than that, they call for the establishment of an Islamic republic in Lebanon. We always adhere to our faith in Islam and we who are working to preserve our Islamic community in all circumstances find this repugnant. This thinking, in its inspiration, is Khomeynist and communist. Most unfortunately, we have been encumbered with more than what is desirable. Khomeynism is no longer a pure, beneficial appeal for Islam, but has become a appeal for extremist acts in areas which Islam does not acknowledge in any form as far as all the perverse practices they engage in, which go beyond those we get from others besides them, are concerned.

[Question] It has been noticed that there is a large group of people seizing on opportunities at this stage who have tried to exploit the ideological premises which have been raised among Islamic and Christian men in the street to strike out at support for the coexistence on which Lebanon was founded. How can one respond to this group?

[Answer] Much of this, yes, much of this — I do not say that these Sharonists have accomplished this reaction. Rather, they have believed that it is now in their power to exploit them as part of the whole complex of elements they exploit to polarize the Christian community.

However, from the beginning of the process we have acquired the lesson that we should always declare our concern for the Christian community, so that it will remain sound, because the safety of Lebanon is concentrated, among other things, on the safety of the Christian community, just as it is concentrated on the safety of the Islamic community.

We remind those voices which stir up our Christian brothers' feelings that the Communists are well known for having special tactics, they ride waves and provoke and are competent in that, let us admit their competence in that, the presence of 10 or 20 organized Communists who are well versed in the quality of Communist tactics and take over a major group of thousands of people without their feeling that they are taking it over, and exploit them and derive benefit.

We can give an obvious example. A few weeks ago a massive sign appeared over a street in Beirut, a red one. We could see from far away that it was red. This will give you an idea about who the people involved in it are. You approach it and find in heavy script "Unite, Moslems, unite." This is the well known Communist slogan. The Communists have started calling on us Moslems to unite. They ride every wave. They also in reality have carried out this process — that is, the Communists and the Khomeynists — and the major element in this was the Khomeynists the day they went, the second day of the Israeli evacuation, to Sidon, in a massive demonstration, which was massive without a doubt, and provoked disturbances in the city through bullets, iron and gunpowder, tearing up the Lebanese flag and raising Iranian slogans in the heart of Sidon. This generated great contempt among the Moslems, among the Moslems' groups, but we must realize that at that time it provoked a

strong reaction among our Christian brothers, and that is what we are not happy about.

Yesterday we were at an Islamic meeting in the House of Judicial Rulings and from there we went in a delegation to the council of ministers. There we addressed them in our customary language, the language of frankness and clarity. We reminded the responsible figures in the regime of the responsibility of requiring that the army be given adequate help and adequate support in order to carry out its duties of establishing legitimate authority generally throughout the region, in Sidon and its suburbs.

It is well known, and let me mention here that we have innumerable and limitless criticisms of the officials, but today we are concerned with the essence of the nation and we are not taking that into consideration; we are trying to support the government and give it the strength to carry out these activities.

[Question] With what impression did you leave the council of ministers' meeting, and how was the response to the premise you presented in the name of the Islamic meeting?

[Answer] Our meeting was with the council of ministers as a whole. We had intended it to be with the council of ministers as a whole, with the president, the prime minister and all the ministers in attendance. I even requested that [Former] President Sham'un be present there. He had left the cabinet for other reasons, and when he talked to me by telephone yesterday evening he expressed his extreme sorrow because he had not been present, because I found in him the same tendency which intelligent Christians express on behalf of the broad Christian community today. He does not approve of this Christian rebellion, which they call an "uprising," and does not approve of this movement in which he sees nothing good. In addition, regarding what happened early in the morning of the incident at the hands of these Sharonists, we received encouragement from a comprehensive Christian meeting which was held in Ba'abda. Some people were critical that an expanded Christian conference should take place in Ba'abda in the presence of the president or his office, and in the presence of the patriarchate, especially the patriarch of the Maronites, and in terms of principle this was perhaps correct, but all intelligent Moslems have supported this conference with respect to the sincere sound appeal issued forth from it to preserve Lebanon and its Arab affiliation and cooperate over the Islamic constants which we adhere to.

I grasped that from the first day, responded to it, contacted his eminence the Maronite patriarch and urged him to use his intelligence, take a long view of matters and repress these rebels. I declared that in the newspapers so that it would have an effect on our Christian brothers and I also contacted many of our Moslem brothers and declared a statement in the papers and the media asserting to our Christian brothers that our concern for the security of the Christian community was as great as our concern for Lebanon itself. Since that day, this feeling has been constantly part of the activity, and what occurred in the Islamic meeting yesterday in the House of Judiciary Rulings was a response to this appeal.

## Al-Jumayyil's Position

[Question] Your excellency the premier, could you spell out to us the position of the president specifically on what has gone on and is going on in the eastern areas and the region of Sidon and its outlying areas?

[Answer] The president's position, along with that of the council of ministers, has been totally positive and understanding of the position and the bitter complaints concerning these rebels. We know that the "uprising" has been against him for numerous reasons, which we are not ignorant of either, and that they have sought to use them as a cover, but the severity of their rebellion, on the other hand, and people's knowledge that they are by origin Sharonists, agents of Israel, have caused many people to avoid paying attention to that and take the side of the government, the officials and the president in these circumstances specifically.

Let me state frankly, awhile ago we succumbed to embarrassment, and we have unlimited criticisms of the government on all matters. The situation reached the point where I held this television conference, in which I said that the scales had been disrupted and warned of the recklessness, indifference and corruption in which many officials have become steeped and the revolution of the hungry. However, in our national action we must give one thing priority over another, give what is most important priority over what is important. What is most important today is that we rid ourselves of the Israeli occupation. The Israeli occupation is not a minor thing for the country. Today it is our prime concern and it is illegitimate that we make the domestic front fragmented and diffuse and leave our heroic brother holy warriors in the south, who are confronting the viciousness of the Israeli aggression today with their blood and their spirits, to fight alone.

Our prime concern is that the Lebanese ranks domestically should be closely joined together or at least unfragmented, so that they will give these brothers the necessary support, support which I believe every sincere Lebanese is concerned about today, and our Arab brothers must be concerned about, our Arab brothers, some of whom the situation has prompted us to state are working against Lebanon, and some of whom are not on Lebanon's side. Had it not been for a gleam of hope which comes to us time after time from our brothers in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and from His Majesty King Fahd, all the Arabs by this standard would have been the same.

I hope that the Arabs will feel that what is going on in Lebanon is not in defense of Lebanon alone but is in defense of the dignity of the Arabs, indeed in defense of the interests of every Arab country through Lebanon. Would that they would listen today to this appeal which we are repeating openly, saying, "Arabs, your weakness is in your competition and your internecine combat, in your clashes." We hope that the effort King Fahd is making to hold the Arab summit will succeed and that this summit, through what is happening in Lebanon, will be an incentive for the Arabs to join in solidarity to prove the Arabs' strength in the face of the viciousness of the aggression and in the face of the whole world, America in particular.



[Question] To be somewhat specific, where does President al-Jumayyil stand on the group in the rebellion and how does he view your movement? Does he intend to demand that the Syrian forces intervene to repress Ja'ja's movement before it gets out of hand and to uproot its ideological premises?

[Answer] This issue is actually very touchy. What the president declares and what we have clearly heard him state is that he makes the same complaint about these people that we ourselves make. Even when he talked to me over the telephone early in the morning of the incident and yesterday in the Council of Ministers, the president told me "These people are the Sharonists whom you yourself have labelled -- they are the agents of Israel. We have sufficient proof that the Israelis are working with them today." Of course I must mention here that Syria's position has great weight in Lebanon, and Syria's position on this incident has also been beneficial, since Syria declared immediately in President al-Asad's words, through my contact with the president, and in the words of the minister of defense, that it will not stand with its hands tied in the face of this destructive activity. What is Syria doing? It has done something and it may perhaps do other things, because Syria has a sincere, ongoing interest in the maintenance of the stability of security in Lebanon. It is this which for a long time has been helping Lebanon work to get Israel to evacuate itself from our territory.

Here I must mention and acknowledge something else which we were calling on our Palestinian brothers to act upon when their resistance had a presence in Lebanon, that the mind should be the guide to action. I must point out now that what we are observing and sensing, that the Palestinians' conduct in Lebanon turned out to be intelligent and wise in terms of their failure to stir up strife, indeed to cooperate with their Lebanese brothers to quell it, is also an important thing.

[Question] After all these developments which have taken place in the eastern areas and Sidon, is it possible to pursue the course of reconciliation in security and political terms, or do these developments continue to require a new evaluation and a new theoretical premise which is in keeping with what is happening in actual conditions?

[Answer] I referred to some of this in connection with what I said. We had many observations, and indeed strong objections, to the course of the reconciliation and the way officials were dealing with it prior to this rebellion and prior to the intensification of the heroic Lebanese resistance in the south to repel the Israeli occupation. However, today is not the time to raise this. If we transcend this very delicate, critical stage in restoring tranquility in the Islamic and Christian communities and the pursuit by our brothers in the south of their struggle to drive Israel out, and Israel will certainly go out of southern Lebanon, we will resume discussing and correcting the course or what I have called the sound approach to saving Lebanon and getting it back to a normal state.

On this subject we have a well known opinion which it is not appropriate to raise or attempt to press officials to correct today, since we find that there is broad scope for correcting the course.



## The Future of the Phalange Party

[Question] In the light of what is happening on the eastern arena in Beirut, how do you view the future of the Phalange Party after the departure of its founder, Shaykh Pierre al-Jumayyil?

[Answer] Although I acknowledge the status the Phalange Party possesses, indeed the power which has been accumulated over the course of the years, that is, for 40 years or more, it is well known in the Arab world that the absence of the head of any party alters conditions in a radical way, and this rebellion has come about as a second step in this regard, to alter the situation in the Phalange Party. You hear the voices of the Sharonists themselves and voices in the Phalange Party today stating that they must set out new foundations for a new party. What is this new party? This statement is vague today, but in my view the new party must consist of the great majority of the Christian community.

They are calling for the establishment of a council representing all Christians. How can they call for this and demand that this council be elected democratically, and who would impose it? The rifles of the Sharonists. Where is the logic in what they are saying, democratic elections to a council representing the Christians through the violence of the rifles of the Sharonists? This is idle talk, shortsightedness, and I believe that today they are in retreat because of many pressures. As I have said, the Phalange Party itself after Pierre al-Jumayyil is no longer the way it was before.

The Phalange Party cannot be the way it was after these movements which have sundered many of its bonds. I do not wish harm on anyone, but this is an actual situation which we must acknowledge. Scope must exist for raising the voice of the Christian community, that is the great majority in it, not under the pressure of rifles, iron and fire but through the requisite freedom for every citizen. This also applies to the Islamic community.

Many people in the Islamic community today are embarrassed to raise their voice on high with respect to pressure from rifles in one direction or the other and from people we call agents of the outer world or beneficiaries of the chaos, whom we call alley leaders who squander the land and resort to uncalculated robbery, theft, killing and beating. I do not hold them responsible. I always declare my charge that the people responsible for them are responsible, and everyone heard me several days ago.

People who carry small arms — some people might say that these individuals carry them on their own responsibility, while the people carrying heavy weapons — heavy weapons are the responsibility of the command. I stated that openly. I am not claiming here to be heroic in declaring this, but this will not deter me from stating the truth, that is, threats or terrorism. I have never in my life been accustomed to being subjected to threats and terrorism. However, humans are humans. I understand people who refuse to expose themselves to danger, to the danger of those people among whom no awareness, no conscience and no scruples exist.

Behind all this is America. You can read much today in the newspapers of America, and voices have started to arise in America [on] the weakness of the Arab world. Let this statement of mine be comprehensive.

Dayan once made a statement and said that the Arabs do not read. I myself added my statement that the Arabs do not read and that if they read they do not understand and if they pass judgment they do not act. Let us read and follow up on what appears in the newspapers of Israel. Let us hear what the radio stations of Israel let us in on. Let us read the newspapers of America. Let us read Israeli writers. In the West and in America everyone is now aware today of the grievous error Israel committed in invading Lebanon. Everyone now realizes this. Today, this morning two lengthy articles appeared in the two great newspapers the NEW YORK TIMES and the WASHINGTON POST condemning Israeli shortsightedness and condemning America's shortsightedness.

Israel, to this day, still is staving off the heroic acts of our fighting brothers in the south with its aggressive ideology, through unlimited brutality by means of oppression in the villages of the south, with the children and old people in them, without any scruples of conscience, undeterred by responsibility. America is still giving it this blind support to which it has become accustomed. America is losing more than what it has accumulated over the years through its support of Israel, more than what it has lost among the Arabs in their entirety. It is losing today, hour by hour and day by day, in the Arab world, all Arabs, not just agitated persons, are seeking vengeance against it for the aid it is giving to Israel, and it has come to realize that this infringes on its direct interests. Therefore it is hiding today in its embassies from the Arab world, from the whole Arab world. It is hiding here and there from the vengeance, from the expression of vengeance against it because of its support of Israel.

This is our actual situation today. Our whole concern is directed toward putting an end to the Israeli evacuation of the territory of Lebanon. I consider it likely that Israel will be compelled, and has become compelled, and I said this for many months, to evacuate from Lebanon, and it will leave enemies next to it. The enmity has grown deeper in their hearts, and woe to Israel on that score.

[Question] Through a calm reading of Israeli practices in the south, it is apparent that Israel intends to empty out the border area after driving the bulk of its inhabitants out of their homes and perpetrating incidents in the areas north of the al-Litani with the goal of creating a reverse migration, so that the majority of the inhabitants in the border area will belong to groups which are not hostile to Israel. What is your opinion?

[Answer] It is stating openly that it will place reliance on what people have called the southern army, an army that Israel has established and outfitted. It has provided it with weapons and money, and still is dealing with it in this manner. It believes that it can rely on it. This will be a grievous failure, since the Shiites and Sunnites and many Christians are participating in the resistance which is taking place today in the south and when my hope is realized concerning what I have said — and God willing it will be realized, through the uprising of the intelligent Christian majority

against the Israelis and the Sharonists -- this will also have an effect in eliminating every Christian who could belong to any army Israel is using in the south. Yesterday we started hearing the statement from officials in Israel that they would not intervene through this army and would not intervene through opposing forces, by which they mean the Sharonists who also staged an uprising in the suburbs of Sidon yesterday. There are mercenaries; who are these mercenaries? They are from America, from France, from Germany or from any other country, but they are aliens or Jews by origin, and if they are not Jews they are Israelis in terms of wages.

What is happening, we say today, is that we are in difficult, delicate circumstances and must be alert. I hope as a final statement for our Arab brothers that they will follow the example of Syria and will in particular follow the example of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The people who are defending Lebanon today in the south of Lebanon are defending Arab interests.

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## FORMER PREMIER DISCUSSES CURRENT DOMESTIC POWER BALANCE

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 23 Mar 85 pp 14-16

[Interview with Former Premier Sa'ib Salam by Ibrahim al-Burjawi and Husayn Hassun: "Union with Syria Is Not Attainable Now; There Are Three Organizations Responsible for the Disruptions"]

[Text] Sa'ib Salam, the former prime minister, is a well known Lebanese figure in Arab and international circles. Since he engaged in political struggle as a youth, he has been characterized by the utmost frankness and indeed rare bravery and boldness as a major proponent of Arab unity then as an independence hero who designed the Lebanese flag in his own home. He himself led the 1958 revolution against the non-Arab orientations of President Cham'un's term but since those days he has refused to rely on arms as a means of political action, although he was most emphatically in favor of them against the enemy of occupation.

He always refused power if that was at the expense of his dignity and convictions, and to that end he abandoned the position of the premiership which he had assumed in order to dissolve the cabinet a number of times. He played important, historic roles throughout the period which Lebanon has gone through from the French mandate to now on the basis of his position as a great popular leader with his many supporters among the Moslems and Christians of Lebanon in general and the people of Beirut in particular.

He took part in the two conferences of dialogue in Geneva and Lausanne, and was one of major figures in them. Nonetheless, he was the only one who did not take part in, and was not represented in, the national unity government. In spite of that, he supported and continued to be silent about many excesses, in order not to aggravate the dispute among Lebanese, until the balance was overturned against him, his famous villa in al-Musaytibah was subjected to a number of acts of aggression and he "turned on the faucet," as his friend Gen Raymond Iddih says, and made press statements in fiery tones, stating that the people dominating the Lebanese scene were involved in pillage, plunder, robbery and extortion.

AL-TADAMUN's conversation with him began with this statement of his:

AL-TADAMUN: We have managed to understand pillage, plunder and robbery, your excellency the premier, but what is extortion?

Sa'ib Salam: Is there anyone in Lebanon who does not yet know the meaning of extortion? If you want to describe it to our brothers in the Arab countries, I can say that the exercise of extortion is daily and has become more of a scandal than you realize. I am not the only one who has referred to it. There on the other side, among our Christian brothers, the Maronite patriarch has been referring to it for a long time. Among the things he referred to overall were theft, plunder, aggressions, the violation of people's chastity, and aggressions against the law, or kidnapping, the vilest crime in our midst today. Extortion is when armed individuals or armed militias -- all of whom, praise God, belong to militias which people sometimes call parties, and many of which, not to say all of which, have become gangs -- come to a person, a home or an organization and under the force of arms demand, on false premises, some money or something which is in violation of reason. This is what they call extortion.

AL-TADAMUN: That is, semantically, its meaning is fraudulence?

Sa'ib Salam: I believe that it is Arabic, although I have not checked in the dictionary. It is a habit of mine to refer to the dictionary on the subject of any word I have doubts about, but this word has become well known.

AL-TADAMUN: What did you mean when you described the cabinet which calls itself the government of national unity as the government of national conflict?

Sa'ib Salam: We were going through specific circumstances when this cabinet was formed. Everyone had hoped that a government of national federation, national unity, would be established and that it would deal with matters in a manner which would satisfy everyone participating in this government who was supposed to be responsible for sectors which were the cause of disputes among the people in Lebanon. Therefore we rose above all considerations, gave this cabinet absolute, full support and helped form it, in spite of the objections I had, which I cited in the Chamber of Deputies at the time. The objections included some very small things which the cabinet engaged in when it was first formed, and therefore the fault we found with the cabinet was made up of many things. However, out of our desire to have the caravan progress with the process of salvation -- I always call it the process of salvation, or the struggle of salvation, and not as President Shaykh Amin al-Jumayyil calls it the "adventure in salvation," because I do not want to get into the adventures he is getting into -- in spite of all the support we gave the cabinet, and in spite of all the hopes we had that it would express itself as a cabinet of national unity, solidarity, cooperation and understanding, as it should, it unfortunately became "the cabinet of conflict" among its members. Conflict in the country in these circumstances in my view is not patriotic. Therefore, I have called it the cabinet of "national conflict," not because I want to eliminate it for good and say that it must not survive but to give notice to the people who are in it that they must be aware of their patriotism and national responsibility, stop this conflict, eliminate the barriers among themselves before they eliminate the barriers



in the way, so that the process may be rectified, and cooperate, in view of the benefit and salvation that entails for the country.

AL-TADAMUN: That is, all conflict is unpatriotic?

Sa'ib Salam: It is conflict, and it is unpatriotic. I normally am not a person who minces words. I always intend to be frank in my words, especially in these difficult circumstances in which people cannot hide behind their thumbs and say that black is white and statements cannot differ from opinions.

AL-TADAMUN: In your latest statement, you say that things will not be set right in Lebanon unless the security plan in Beirut, especially West Beirut, is corrected. What is your view of the executive steps that are necessary for correcting the plan in Beirut and consequently in Tripoli and the coastal strip?

Sa'ib Salam: This question is connected to the answer to the first question. This is what was required from the time this cabinet first set out (today about a year has elapsed since it was formed) and it was required of its main figures, as individuals: they, within the cabinet today, are responsible for what they call the militias or the armed persons spread about in the streets and alleys of Beirut. They are people who could have performed this job, by settling their affairs in the cabinet, agreeing to it altogether and putting an end to it by the force of legitimate authorities such as the internal security forces and the army, or by bearing their responsibilities at least as individuals. There are three groups the people hold responsible for all the weapons on the stage -- the militias of the Lebanese Phalange, the militias of the AMAL movement and the militias of the Socialist Progressive Party. I am calling things by their names. These people are responsible as long as we have urged them, indeed chased them and insisted to them, that they be aware of their responsibilities vis-a-vis the plunder, pillage, extortion, kidnapping and so forth these armed persons are carrying out.

However, unfortunately, we have not to this day received a response to any of this. A short while ago there was a long meeting in Bikfaya at the president's which was attended by the Syrian Arab vice president, Mr 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam, who now is the person carrying out reconciliation among all parties today. He began as a conciliating figure with the Saudi delegate to Geneva, then was in Lausanne, and from that day he has been trying, with Syria and the president of Syria, to bring these conflicting people together.

People keep saying that this last session in Bikfaya was under the pressure of "the people's strained patience," meaning that the people have become fed up. Here I can refer to strained material patience, indeed strained psychological patience. The people have become fed up with the killing, have become fed up with the destruction, have become fed up with the injustice, have become fed up with the fragmentation, have become fed up with the disintegration. Under this pressure, they have arrived at a sort of agreement over simple matters which they deal with, including the issue of security --

especially, as they have said, and as we ourselves keep saying, the "security of Beirut," since any intelligent person must realize that if security does not become stabilized in the capital, it will not be possible for it to be stabilized in any area. That is out of the question. It is possible for it to be stabilized in the capital and not be stabilized in the areas, but in order for it to be stabilized in any other area it must be stabilized in the capital first of all. The situation in the capital, Beirut, today unfortunately is something that would not satisfy any intelligent person, any citizen or any patriot, because things cannot be set right under the control of armed persons, as they know no prophet or evangelist, as people say, and they claim, and the people responsible for them also claim, that they all belong to organized militias. In fact, they are not organized militias, and I do not believe that anyone responsible for the militias today, God forbid, would be personally enticed into stealing, plundering, extorting or kidnapping — I do not claim that they have reached this sad state. However, they are covering up these acts through their responsibility for these armed persons, and there is the essence!

AL-TADAMUN: What are the executive steps for correcting security activities?

Sa'ib Salam: The executive steps are in their hands. As a first step we will settle for having these people who are responsible for the people bearing arms say that they will remove their protection and wash their hands of anyone committing any of these crimes, which I do not want to keep listing. We will settle for such a statement first of all so that people will know who they are dealing with. However, for them to deal with people claiming that they are fighting men in a movement, party or organization, then for those persons to be thieves, robbers, kidnappers, extortioners and so forth, is not reasonable or acceptable.

AL-TADAMUN: What has the army's role come to at this point?

Sa'ib Salam: The army has also become fragmented, as Lebanon has become fragmented, and the reason is these armed persons, because while fragmentation may perhaps occur over a difference of opinion, that can be dealt with in the political context. When matters 10 years ago took the turn of armed violence and every armed person believed that he constituted the government, therefore everyone had to be aware of his responsibility and turn away from that. Here is where my statement arose, that the Lebanese people have perhaps been carried away by some circumstances and a certain group is now on the side of a given person or a given organization, and a given group is on the side of another person or organization, but everyone, and I stress what I am saying, everyone, has become aware of the deterioration which Lebanon has been subjected to and has become fed up to indigestion with the killing, destruction, ruin, kidnapping, plundering and robbery. We keep going back to the same refrain.

AL-TADAMUN: Doesn't the army's role arise, though, after the armed persons have undertaken to discipline themselves?

Sa'ib Salam: No, the role of the army can also arise before or at the same time as this process. How? By having them call a halt to the conflict in the

councils of government, from the president to the ministers, and by cooperating and reaching mutual understanding. At that point the fragmentation in the army will come to an end under their mediation and it will be possible to use the army to repress the perverse practices, whatever they might be and wherever they might occur.

At this point I would like to say that we insist on putting an end to the security disturbance and on putting security on a firm footing in order to achieve security itself, because if the people are not secure it will not be possible for them to express a sound, correct opinion in the interests of their country. What also brings us to this conclusion is that if the domestic front is not sound and marked by a state of cooperation and firm solidarity, it will not be possible for us to be optimistic over the success of these heroic acts our brothers and sons in the south are carrying out in sacrificing every dear and precious person, their lives, their homes and all their possessions for the sake of driving the Israeli occupation forces from Lebanese territory and liberating Lebanon. This is also one of the most important considerations we are contemplating.

AL-TADAMUN: The deteriorated economic situation which you have warned will lead to a revolution of the hungry -- what steps do you consider it is necessary to take in the official context and in the context of the people to limit its deterioration in the difficult circumstances Lebanon is going through now?

Sa'ib Salam: Let us go back to the government, the rulers and their responsibility. The head is always responsible. Whether the head is a person or a body participating alongside this person, it is always responsible. The New Testament verse says, "If the owner of the house is not set straight, the builders will build in vain." Unfortunately, to this day we sometimes hear a roaring sound but do not see any flour. I hope that this will not apply to the latest session in Bikfaya, after which we were informed that agreements and conciliation had taken place. We call on them to effect a reconciliation, but we hope that the conciliation will not be at the expense of the people, because on many occasions we have become accustomed to having the conciliations take place at the expense of these people. We are calling on them to rise above selfish benefits, whether they are political, moral or material, which are the most dangerous, because when the people's trust in the government is lost the government no longer has any reverence through which it can exercise its authority.

Trust is now lost. In the past they lost trust among groups of the citizens, but I state once again that my firm opinion today is that after this long ordeal, after the harsh experiences, the overwhelming majority of the Lebanese realize their mistakes and realize that they had been deluded and that it is necessary to reach mutual understanding and regain affection and cooperation. It is up to the officials to give this realization concrete form. Indeed, to put this in concrete terms, there has been recklessness on the part of these officials, major and minor, and I am not exempting anyone, there has been indifference and an interminable absorption with large and small deals which harm the treasury and the public good and fill the pockets of officials. Therefore the situation has become similar to the era of Marie



Antoinette; I have said that the situation has become similar to the French revolution. Many people take the principles and slogans of freedom, democracy, collective production and other political theories which have percolated down to us from the revolution through the generations, but they forget that what established them was the revolution of the hungry against Marie Antoinette, which is where we are today, and what I have repeatedly warned officials about. Their situation resembles Marie Antoinette's, and let them beware that the people will do what the French people did the day of the revolution of the hungry. Therefore, we today are trying to make the officials understand that hunger is ungrateful and hungry people are ungrateful about everything, especially the government.

AL-TADAMUN: To go back to the difficult circumstances Lebanon is going through, which are to be considered an extension of the crisis, which has entered its 10th year, what do you consider is the true picture of these circumstances now?

Sa'ib Salam: Everything I talked about will convey the true situation and what we are experiencing now to you. What is very important, and some people do not appreciate, is that my faith in the people of Lebanon has never been severed. I have always appealed for understanding, mutual understanding, generosity of spirit and rapprochement.

I believe that Lebanon was based on two groups. Let us be clear in defining things. We do not know Lebanon the way some people portray it. It emerged thousands of years ago, and crises and events have occurred in the course of time. The Lebanon of today is the Lebanese government which was established in 1943 as part of an independent entity, such as the Arab entities people are adhering to today. There was a reconciliation, I do not say a settlement, a reconciliation between the Christian and Moslem communities. Here I must state that we performed that job in 1943, we were the ones who participated at that time in that reconciliation, and our eyes were open. Much credit goes to the two groups, the Christian and Moslem. The Moslems relinquished their demands at that time, such as the Syrian union, then Arab unity, and the bitter feeling of being torn away from their environment. I also appreciate that credit goes to our Christian brothers who after feeling deep fear which had seized them over the generations relinquished foreign protection and the foreign army present in our midst. Everyone agreed that this free, independent Arab country should be a country named Lebanon. That is the Lebanon we know; the price for us and for them was high. They have proved that they have farsightedness; we paid this price because we wanted to live free of foreign occupation.

Therefore we wanted this Lebanon to be a nation for the Christians, and for the Maronites specifically; we did not want Lebanon to be a Maronite Christian country. There is a big difference between the two. We wanted Lebanon to be a nation for our Christian brothers, and, to repeat, for the Maronites specifically, where they would be blessed with freedom and security and they would no longer have a feeling of fear. However, it is not reasonable that anyone should accept what others went to extremes over when they proceeded to state and call for and indeed act to turn Lebanon into a Maronite Christian nation. That is to be rejected, and let that be frank and clear. I

believe today that the great majority of our Maronite brothers are against that, against people who are still making these attempts, against the group of the Phalange and the Lebanese Forces, to the point where the commander of the Lebanese Forces, who is a member of the Phalange Party, started shouting some weeks ago openly and in the papers that they, that is, the Phalangists, must try to bridge the gap which exists between them and the Christian community.

AL-TADAMUN: What do you see in the president's statements of constant optimism and his constant statement that everything is well, God willing? Are they based on a state of affairs on which the president is informed, which the people do not know about?

Sa'ib Salam: I am always an optimist, and I believe that every Lebanese citizen must be optimistic; otherwise, if we despair over everything we will put ourselves in a shroud and go to the hereafter. We must continue to have deep faith. I have deep faith in my lord and the people of my town, and I must be optimistic. However, for the president to be optimistic and to repeat the optimism with hollow words is a roaring sound, not flour. What is required of the president, when he declares his optimism, is that he support it with an act which backs this optimism up and inspires optimism in the people, because it is not possible to inspire optimism in the people just by words. We have not yet seen the government carrying out acts which would call for optimism. All the government's acts to this day, unfortunately, and I am not exaggerating when I say this, all its acts without exception have failed to give the people confidence that they are serious about acts which are compatible with the public interest.

AL-TADAMUN: [Former] President Camille Cham'un, who is well known for the breadth of his knowledge, said, in one of his recent statements, that 1985 will be the year of the resolution of the Lebanese crisis, and many politicians have agreed with him over this. What is your personal opinion on this statement, by virtue of your experience and your knowledge of the course of affairs?

Sa'ib Salam: I might perhaps agree with him to some extent about that. These are his aspirations. Let us admit that they embody some of the hope by which we are living, and they embody some of the actual conditions around us. There are some things in our midst from which people can derive hope that this will be the year of relaxation, starting with the beginning of the road, that is, the elimination of the Israeli occupation of the territory of Lebanon. That will liberate all the groups and clans in Lebanon to work outside the shadow of the occupation. In the shadow of occupation, people must take many things into consideration. If the occupation is eliminated, these factors will be eliminated. We are quiet about many things now, and are tolerating many things reluctantly. The Lebanese people are tolerating many things; if the Israeli occupation ends it will no longer be in these people's ability to bear what they are bearing today. There are regional factors and international factors which are all interacting and which will perhaps lead to a relaxation. We hope so.



AL-TADAMUN: You keep saying that you appreciate Minister Walid Jumblatt's position of not responding with full cooperation with the government, but at the same time you disapprove of the continuing dispute among the people in the cabinet and the continuing barriers among them, because the dispute ultimately will be of no benefit as long as the subject of the dispute itself, that is, the nation, is in a situation which threatens it with annihilation. What facts have caused you to take this position? What is your opinion about the charges directed at Mr Walid Jumblatt on his alleged relations with Israel, which affect his positions?

Sa'ib Salam: It is not true that I support Mr Walid Jumblatt over his failure to cooperate with the government. In fact, I support him for cooperating with the government. Nor do I wish to exempt the government from responsibility for the lack of cooperation. I do not agree that everyone is cooperating with one another.

As regards Mr Walid Jumblatt, I do not at all doubt his patriotism and genuine Arabhood, which I esteem. What I in fact am asking for from him are positions which are different from the ones he holds. He embodies contradictions and I discuss them with him; I debate everyone's contradictions with them and am constantly keeping up these attempts, without losing hope.

As regards the charges, I disdain to resort to what we in Lebanon have become accustomed to calling charges of any form people wish and levelling them in one direction or another. The charge of treason nowadays is being directed wherever it is, and I absolutely do not agree that the charge of treason should be directed against Mr Walid Jumblatt.

AL-TADAMUN: It is well known that before the February movement you counselled President al-Jumayyil to cooperate with Nabih Birri and Walid Jumblatt and that you proposed Karami for prime minister. The president did not act on your advice. What is your relationship with them now? What is your relationship with [former] Premier Salim al-Huss in the House of the Judiciary Rulings?

Sa'ib Salam: You are confusing the one with the other; they have become numerous.

AL-TADAMUN: Because they constitute a single rank?

Sa'ib Salam: Would that they did constitute a single rank.

He then added, "Let us go back to President Amin al-Jumayyil. In my support for President Amin al-Jumayyil's regime I have tolerated what others have not. I gave him much advice before the Chamber of Deputies and in the Lausanne Conference, and I challenge anyone whoever he may be to say that he has acted on advice from me. Today I have reached the limits of despair with him but nonetheless I met him recently, sat down with him and took lunch with him. I do not believe that President Amin al-Jumayyil is aware of what we warned him against and are leery about in his respect, or that he has taken advice from near at hand or from a distance.

I said that we are appealing for salvation, that is, for the process of salvation, which he calls the "adventure of salvation." However, with time, I have started to realize that President Amin al-Jumayyil is a man of adventures, a "man of struggles," who relies on instant conflict. We ourselves however proceed out of responsibility and serious, constructive movement, not out of conflicts which evaporate.

In any event, I am not being hostile to anyone. Some people are hostile to me. May God be tolerant with them. I do not have militias and do not have banks to give me millions in subsidies or countries to subsidize me on the road to waywardness, and I do not traffic in my patriotism.

AL-TADAMUN: How do you view the Syrian role in the Lebanese crisis today? How do you interpret Syria's simultaneous alliance with the president and his opponents, such as Mr Jumblatt?

Sa'ib Salam: I believe that the responsible figures in Syria are just like our responsible figures here in Lebanon, and their position is like the position we are in. They want the evacuation of the Israeli forces of occupation to be attained as a first step, then to move on to other things.

AL-TADAMUN: In the midst of the factional disturbance which is prevailing in Lebanon, with your continued insistence that Lebanon can exist only with its two halves, the Moslem and the Christian, why don't you form a party out of all the factions which will be the first signs of well being and hope that Lebanon will regain its unity?

Sa'ib Salam: Blocs have started to call themselves parties, but they are all factional organizations, to the point where it is now said, "Jumblatt's party," "Birri's movement," "al-Jumayyil's party" and so forth. I do not want to enter into this realm, so that it will be said, "Sa'ib Salam's party"; I do not want to establish an Islamic organization or a Sunnite one, or anything of this sort. Parties should have values, goals and principles so that if a person disappears, the party will remain along with its principles and will not disappear with him. I am working through social and parliamentary blocs, but not as a party.

AL-TADAMUN: People are talking these days about the imminent return of the Syrian deterrent forces to Beirut and the other areas and about the plan for a federation and a federal union between Lebanon and Syria. What is your information about these two subjects, and what is your position regarding them?

Sa'ib Salam: The deterrent forces are present in the north and the al-Biqa'. They were present in Beirut in specific circumstances, and Syria was never remiss in expressing total interest in uplifting Lebanon and helping it confront difficulties. The return of the deterrent forces is a Syrian decision which has its own circumstances, and I do not believe that Syria wants to add another concern to the ones it has.

As regards union, that will be achieved only by the will of the people. One day the (late) President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir told me that what I had told

him remained in his mind, which is that union cannot take place by annexation but rather that it should be the will of the people. When the great majority of the people of the country, or the two countries which are striving for union, agree that there should be a union, that is something else. That does not exist now in Lebanon. We are proceeding with rules and are not grasping at fantasies. Union consists not of the will of an individual but rather of a desire which the majority must support.

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LEBANON

SOUTH LEBANON SHI'ITE LEADER INTERVIEWED ON RESISTANCE

London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 1 Apr 85 p 8

[Interview with Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Shams-al-Din, vice president of the supreme Shi'ite Islamic council, by 'Arafat Hijazi; date and place not specified]

[Text] Many questions present themselves on the Arab scene and spread out to the far corners of the world, which has come to follow day by day news of the escalation in commando operations by men of the Lebanese resistance in the south against the Israeli occupation--and along with it news of the repression and terrorism that the occupation forces practice against the civilian population of the south.

Even though the questions on the whole center around the current situation in south Lebanon, many questions have emerged from them concerning the future of the south under the auspices of any international political or diplomatic effort to end the Israeli occupation.

AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT took all the questions and inquiries to Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Shams-al-Din, vice president of the Supreme Shi'ite Islamic council in Lebanon, and the interviews conducted by 'Arafat Hijazi went as follows:

[Question] A while ago you proclaimed a defensive holy war (jihad) against Israel. Can we know the reason for this proclamation at this time, knowing that Israel has begun to carry out its withdrawal stages and that there are international efforts to complete it without incidents?

[Answer] Everyone knows that since the beginning of the Israeli occupation, we have confronted the situation by forbidding dealings, cooperation, and clientage, and by forbidding any act that might establish normal relations, or what is called "normalization," between the Israelis and the Lebanese. That is because since the Israeli occupation and the siege of Beirut that followed, continuous acts of resistance began against the Israelis, but the time was not ripe to be open about them until they had expanded, deepened and grown in quantity and quality and had gained more popular support, after which it became possible to be open about them.

Since the Israeli occupation began until the time when resistance was announced, we never once ceased to be open towards any international effort,

political or diplomatic, to end the Israeli occupation on our terms and according to the United Nations Security Council Resolutions 508 and 509 regarding unconditional withdrawal, but to no avail.

All that the contacts and appeals brought about was the action that resulted in the negotiations that brought about the May 17 agreement along with everything that this agreement conveys with regard to giving the occupation a legitimate and legal appearance and giving military, political, and economic gains to the Israelis.

As everyone knows, this agreement failed because it was rejected and because of the opposition to it. In its place came the al-Naqurah talks which we also rejected just as we rejected the March talks.

We say now that we are still and will remain open to these efforts, but as we said in the past when the resistance was proclaimed, we will wait for nothing and nobody. We cannot stand with our arms folded waiting for political and diplomatic efforts which are intended to bring about the liberation of Lebanon, first of all because we have the experience of about 40 years of Arab action towards the Israelis on this basis, the basis of talks, or the United Nations and international efforts and peace initiatives and so on, and we believe that this effort, if not harmful, has been fruitless.

We welcome any effort, but we have no confidence that would make us stop our action to wait for what would come as a result of that method.

Then we believe that the active forces in the region are either allied with Israel or are paralyzed and worthless, so even if such an effort comes about, the apparatus does not exist to make this effort bear fruit. The American apparatus has proven that it is biased, the European apparatus has proven that it is sometimes biased and always paralyzed and ineffective, and the apparatus of the non-aligned nations lacks effectiveness, the United Nations is paralyzed, and the Security Council is controlled by the veto, and therefore there is nothing left for us but to resist.

After the failure of the international establishments to produce any results to liberate us from the Israelis, and after everyone became convinced of what we had been sure of since the beginning: that Israel intends to Zionize Lebanon and annex a portion of the southern lands and that it used methods of killing, repression, demolition, expulsion, arrests, and blowing up of villages and homes; after all that, our despair of the international community increased, as did our despair regarding the effectiveness of any political effort.

It is no longer just our right to resist, but it has become our duty to call for a defensive holy war.

In spite of that we are open. We are not lovers of war and battle, and we certainly are not terrorists as the Zionist and biased media would like to portray us. We are open to any solution that would get Israel out of our country unconditionally.



I would like to make it clear, and for the outside world to understand, that we are determined to be Israel's number one experience in entering a war from which it gains nothing, and the purpose of our demand for an unconditional Israeli withdrawal is to reduce bloodshed.

Israel must get out and there is nothing for us to negotiate with the Israelis. There exists a state of occupation that must, quite simply, end. There is the truce agreement of March 1949 that we still respect and agree to. This must be applied and not negotiated over. Regarding security arrangements, we do not agree to any arrangements. There will be no peace for Israel on our land as long as there is one occupying Israeli soldier within the Lebanese-Palestinian borders, and he will be struck at in order to expel him.

#### Liberation of Jerusalem

[Question] There is real fear in Israel and in the West that the resistance will continue even after a withdrawal and after the ambitions on those in the resistance are met by continuing acts against Israel to liberate Jerusalem and the rest of the occupied territories.

[Answer] We have made it clear that we believe that the liberation of Lebanon from Israeli occupation is the duty of all Lebanese, nationally speaking, and from the Islamic legal point of view it is the duty of Muslims. At the same time we have not abandoned the question of Palestine or the question of liberating Palestine. Therefore it is the duty of the Lebanese, both Muslim and Christian, whether the world cares about the liberation of Lebanon or not; we believe that we are directly concerned and will wait for no-one. But regarding Palestine, we are concerned with its liberation: we do not recognize Israel and we consider Israel to be a usurping entity, but the liberation of Palestine is not the responsibility of the Lebanese Muslims alone. It is an overall Islamic responsibility and an overall Arab responsibility, therefore we will follow any Islamic or Arab decision on the matter.

#### Expansionist Ambitions

[Question] Through your following the events in the south and reading about their developments, what in your opinion does Israel want from Lebanon and from the south in particular? Does it intend to "Golanize" the south, or just to keep the waters of the Litani, or set up a security belt to protect its northern borders?

[Answer] We believe that Israel's war in Lebanon has not ended, but that it began under the false slogan of peace for Galilee in order to give its war moral and legal justification in the eyes of world public opinion, but it is an expansionist war like all of Israel's other wars. It wants to occupy the land, expel the population and exploit the waters, just as it has done in its wars with the other Arab nations after the occupation of Palestine.

Based on information, we believe that Israel wants to cut off a portion of the south one way or another at this stage annex it in fact, and this is what is called the border belt, and they want to expand it now.

Therefore we look at what is called the Israeli withdrawal, and we once said about it that it was restructuring of the Israeli occupation of Lebanon. This withdrawal, that certainly occurred as a result of acts of resistance, gave material proof of the failure of certain aspects of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, which were to restructure Lebanon along specific, previously agreed lines that would make it a rear-guard and buffer for Israel in the region; this failed.

The Sharon-Begin war has failed. Now they want to salvage what can be salvaged of this war which centers on what has been a strategic and historical goal of Israel since the Versailles conference following World War I, the belief that the borders of Palestine are the waters of the Litani. This stage which Israel failed to achieve completely it is now trying to bring about partially through what is called the border strip. Therefore, all announced withdrawals only purpose to make it more capable of hanging onto this piece of Lebanese soil that it wants to stay on. We believe that it wants to annex it in fact, and we believe that if it can it will make up incidents, measures and arrangements to rid it of some of its population so that Israel will maintain its ability to control it more and more.

In this sense, yes, we can talk about the "Golanization" of this part of the south. We take seriously talk by certain Israeli officials, Kahana and his ilk, about the possibility of building settlements. We take seriously talk about sending for the Ethiopian Jews, the Falashas, and what would be stirred up around them. We take seriously all that Israel says about its ambitions in Lebanon, and we do not take seriously at all all that Israel says about only wanting security for its northern borders.

#### Phase Following Withdrawal

[Question] With the start of the second phase of the Israeli withdrawal, are you afraid that specific acts of violence may occur, especially since the regions that Israel is vacating are difficult and complicated with respect to their composition and sectarian diversity?

[Answer] We always expect Israel to set traps that will create strife, because that is its nature and the path that serves its goals to split up Lebanon and make itself appear to be a force for peace and that where it is, there is stability and when it withdraws from a place there are outbreaks and fighting. But at the same time we are confident of the degree of awareness present among the Lebanese in those areas. We believe that Israel has done a lot and set a lot of traps to cause some strife in Sidon and the area around it, but everyone's awareness and their realization that any factional or sectarian clashes would hurt everyone on the one hand and help Israel on the other prevented Israel from succeeding with its shady plans.

## Issue of the Islamic Republic

[Question] The phenomenon of Islamic extremism is disturbing to many, especially since it has gone beyond the red line with respect to the Lebanese composition by bringing up the establishment of an Islamic republic in Lebanon. How do you view this matter, and what is your perception of the form Lebanon will take following this war?

[Answer] With regard to proclaiming an Islamic republic in Lebanon, nothing of this sort has come from our side. We are not proposing an Islamic republic formula. We are proposing the formula of a numerical democracy based on the principles of the majority and consultation.

There is no talk about or action towards establishing an Islamic republic in the offing, and I know of no serious action on this matter. What is said about certain political factions, that they are thinking about it or calling for it or working for it, that is something I know nothing about. Even if we suppose there is something of this sort, we do not espouse it nor consider it to be right from a political point of view.

Regarding possibilities, we believe in the diversity of Lebanon, but that certainly does not mean that we agree to a sectarian system that includes Christian and Maronite domination and rule in Lebanon. There is now a Phalangist face to the government, and this we do not agree to; rather, through political means we call for change, and through democratic means we work to change this system into a majority system based on the principle of consultation and numerical democracy.

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LEBANON

SIDON SUNNI LEADER INTERVIEWED ON RESISTANCE IN SOUTH

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 30 Mar 85 pp 26-27

[Interview with Sunni Leader Mustafa Sa'd by Basim al-Mu'allim; in a Boston hospital, date not given]

[Text] The heroic death of my daughter is only one of the preconceived and premeditated deaths of girls of the south at the hands of Israel.

The national opposition is liberation, and solidarity for Lebanon and the Lebanese can come only by joining together in death for the sake of Lebanon.

It is not the Arab governments who support our front but rather the Arab peoples.

I call upon the brother states to help our front so that we can oppose Israel's plans.

I was stunned when I met Mustafa Sa'd. I was apprehensive, afraid and nervous when I entered his room and shook his hand, looking closely at his face. This is a young fighter from my country, a symbol of the heroic resistance in the south. The Israeli invaders have disfigured his body and extinguished the light from his eyes, but they failed to reach his great heart and great will. He was calm, composed and self-confident. He shares the fate of those who have agreed to pay the price for their patriotic positions. His wife Luba was at his side, holding his right arm, showing him tenderness and love. She was not spared by the despicable crime. Her right eye had been hit by shrapnel from their bomb, and the life stolen from it. Her left leg was also injured, but she can walk, and her other eye still has the spark of hope. At his side were two very young girls, his cousins, who had also been hit - in the eyes. There was also Dr. 'Adil al-Qadi, Mustafa Sa'd's brother-in-law, who had accompanied him on the airplane and took him from Beirut to Paris and then to Boston.

There was also Natasha, a white dove circling above the hall, flying from wound to wound putting balm on the wounds so that they might heal quickly so that her parents might return to those who have departed... The white dove Natasha longed for two brothers she had left in Sidon.

Natasha. Her parents' visitors sense her everywhere in the room. The pretty, innocent, well-mannered child, eternally silent, interrupting no one. She never cuts off the conversation, but she becomes the topic of conversation as summarized in one word: resistance.

Mustafa Sa'd, who only found out a few days ago that Natasha, the white dove, had died as a result of her wounds from the criminal explosion, said to me. "I miss her of course, just as the Lebanese miss their sons who are being killed by the aggression in our good land in the south."

But even if Mustafa's pride keeps him from talking about his girl who died, he still misses her, of course. How could a father not miss a daughter of his stolen by death? He speaks about her continually, but Natasha remains alive in a heroic resistance in which one can believe. He talks about her without hesitation. He calls out to people for help and begs them not to abandon her. Resistance. Resistance. Resistance.

Last Sunday afternoon, for the 2 hours that this interview lasted, as he and I sat in the sitting room in one of the apartments in the hotel attached to Massachusetts General Hospital, which is part of Harvard University, Mustafa and I spoke about resistance. About Natasha. The explosion. His political future. The south. Sidon. Lebanon, Syria and the Arabs. The Lebanese national resistance and Christian-Muslim coexistence in Lebanon. Building people who believe in the homeland and are opposed to Israel.

Mustafa Sa'd begins by saying:

Mustafa Sa'd: A charge weighing 100 kilograms blew up at one moment. I do not know how it exploded or what happened, I do not remember. It happened as if in the blink of an eye or like a flash of lightning. They told me later on that they took me to Beirut, then to Paris and then here. They did not tell me that my daughter had died until I regained consciousness 2 weeks ago or less. I felt that I had been hit. When they told me that my daughter had died, I said that my daughter is like all the innocent girls who are killed by Israel in any village in southern Lebanon. The innocent Natasha is like the other girls who are killed by Israel according to a preconceived and premeditated plan in the villages of the south. This is our destiny. Even now, I still maintain my political position. This is what I consider to be the important thing, despite all the pain and all these misfortunes. We have to face all the possibilities because of this position.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: Let's go back a bit to Mustafa Sa'd before the collective assassination attempt. On 10 February you reached the age of 34. Here you are, wounded as a young man of 34. Do you feel that someone who works in politics should expect everything to happen to him?

Mustafa Sa'd: No, I was even expecting this to happen to me. As far as I was concerned, this whole thing was fated to happen to me. I was expecting it to happen.



AL-MUSTAQBAL: When Israel invaded Lebanon and occupied Sidon, you were among the prisoners they took. Did you have this feeling since that time?

Mustafa Sa'd: Shortly after the occupation, they summoned me more than once. In fact, once they took me and I waited more than an hour for them to meet me. All they wanted to do then was to talk with us and convince us that they were not an occupation army. And I would tell them that they are an occupation force and that we will not deal with them. The Israeli response was to come to Lebanon and invade it in order to fight the "Palestinian terrorists." And I faced these matters with steeled nerves. They wanted to establish political relations with us in Sidon so that they could take control of the situation in the city. This is exactly what we refused. Most of our young men were imprisoned because of this position in Ansar and Tall Ilyas. There were some weak-willed ones who allied themselves with Israel, but these were a very small minority.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: Mustafa Sa'd was the voice calling for harmony and the need for cooperation among all the groups in Sidon and in the whole region and the failure to achieve restraint from conflict. Your appeal succeeded, despite the explosion, and the major conflict in Sidon among the groups and factions about which Israel had been spreading rumors never materialized. How do you explain that?

Mustafa Sa'd: The sad and distressing thing is that the irregularities that occurred in Sidon before and after the withdrawal of the Israeli occupation forces were being done by agents of Israeli intelligence, the Lebanese Forces, and Lahd's army. This is what pains and wounds me. But at the same time, this position is one of principle that we had to adopt. And we really did adopt it and we still stand by it.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: Is this why the bomb was placed in front of your house? And who placed it there?

Mustafa Sa'd: There is no doubt that Israel is behind this incident and that the Lebanese Forces and Israel's agents are the ones who benefit along with it by this incident. But despite this, my position is clear in this regard. I am eager for collective coexistence in the region among all groups. I care as much about this coexistence as I care about myself. The Christian groups in the villages next to us and in Sidon have to take a clear position of refusing to deal with the groups that deal with Israel. This is what will enable us to preserve this coexistence and make it really succeed. Permit me to explain to you that my wife is Orthodox and my grandmother a Maronite. Then if, God forbid, there should occur any clashes among sects in the region, then what would I say to my uncles? I am eager for coexistence among Christians and Muslims in Beirut, in the south and in all of Lebanon. The conspiracy is not new and unforeseen. The murder of Ma'ref Sa'd in 1974 was not a coincidence. The "Perutiyyin" Company is a front company, a company in name only. It was something deliberate that happened in Sidon in 1974, just as happened to me recently. The same quarters were behind the two incidents, i.e., the Israelis and the forces operating with them on the Lebanese scene.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: You are doubtless in constant communication with your party in Sidon and the prominent figures there so that you know what is happening and how to prevent what might happen, God forbid.

Mustafa Sa'd: The situation in Sidon is not very good, indeed it is a temporary situation. We will not permit the Lebanese Forces to plan the timing of the battle with us. The expulsion of the Lebanese Forces and their agents from the region is a basic condition for the success of the coexistence of all those living there. Their remaining there and their irregular actions will draw the region into major military incidents that will have bad repercussions on the situation of the Christians in the region. It could mean that the Christians would have to leave for the border zone. This is the Israeli plan that we are fighting and will continue to fight.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: So the problem is the presence of the Lebanese Forces in the south, and specifically in Sidon?

Mustafa Sa'd: It is the control of the Christian road by armed men that forces the Christians in our region to accept the Lebanese Forces. If the Christians had any choice, they would announce a nationalist position allied with Lebanon and opposed to Israel. Then they would be with the nationalist option. I am sure of that. I have no doubt that they will take no other position. We are in constant contact with our Christian brothers in the villages surrounding Sidon to keep the situation calm and to convince them of the need to drive out the Lebanese Forces from these villages to spare them every harm and to allow the return of those who had fled from their villages.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: The second problem in Sidon and in the south is the problem of the fate of the Palestinians who live there and how they are to be protected.

Mustafa Sa'd: Assuring the security of the Palestinians in Sidon and in the south generally is a responsibility that falls on our shoulders, i.e. on the shoulders of the nationalist villages in the south. We are aware that some factions of the Palestinian resistance are adhering to the decision of the Lebanese National Resistance Front and carrying out their orders without fanfare. For that reason we will not allow anyone at all to interfere in Palestinian affairs in our region.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: You told me that a delegation of members of your party returned today from a visit to Damascus. How is your relationship with Syria as a party?

Mustafa Sa'd: It is a good and special relationship. We are in accord with Damascus, and I should point out here that the Syrian position supports the Lebanese nationalist forces. Syria is eager to have a unified Lebanon because any partitioning could pose a danger to it. It helps us prevent partitioning and restore sovereignty and unity to the country.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: What about the other Arab states?

Mustafa Sa'd: Unfortunately, Arab governments have not supported the Lebanese National Resistance Front. There is popular Arab support for the front. We call upon the governments and states to help the front because it is unswerving in its fight against Israel.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: In a few days you will be going to Washington to participate in a trip to support southern Lebanon. Do you have anything to say in this regard?

Mustafa Sa'd: I decided to participate in this trip in which Mr James Abourezk, former presidential candidate Jesse Jackson and I will speak. It will be headed by two metropolitans, a shaykh and an imam. This trip will be the true expression of the national opposition in the south, and the assurance that this opposition is not a sectarian opposition nor dependent on one group to the exclusion of another. After the trip I will be tired, and I will return to Boston to continue my treatment, since I must have another operation. Then I will visit a number of health clinics. After that I will comply with the requests of our Lebanese and Arab brothers to put them in the context of the political climate in our region. After that I will return of course to Sidon to renew the battle against Israel, to renew the battle for the unification of Lebanon and to prevent it from being partitioned and abandoned.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: You say that your grandmother is a Maronite, you wife is Orthodox and you are a Sunni?

Mustafa Sa'd: I am Lebanese and I am a nationalist. I do not look to sectarianism despite its importance in Lebanon. In the final analysis, my allegiance is to Lebanon, period. This is why I long so much for Lebanon, for my homeland. I long for Lebanon, for Sidon, for my people. If I could return there tomorrow I would do it immediately.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: Until you return to Sidon, what do you have to say to our people in the south?

Mustafa Sa'd: I would say: Preserve the unity of Lebanon at any price, because this is the most important thing. People in the south, support the National Resistance Front to enable it to resist the Zionist plans and the plans of those who collaborate with them. Let us all stand in embrace, working together to face this difficult period. God willing, I will be with you in the south very soon to face all these matters and to participate in opposing the plans of the enemy.

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LEBANON

NATURE, CONSEQUENCES OF UPRISING IN SOUTH REVIEWED

Beirut AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WAL-DUWALI in Arabic 25-31 Mar 85 pp 8, 9

[Article by Nabil Barakis: "What Is the Future, after the Uprising? The Fear Is That the New Events Will Divert Us from the Scheme To Dismember the South!"]

[Text] The "upheaval" which has occurred in the eastern section got all Lebanese, officials, party figures and politicians, moving last week, and got more than one Arab and foreign country moving, by means of these countries' agencies and their diplomats in Lebanon. This "upheaval" opened the door wide to theories, interpretations and reactions. Some commentators went so far as to give the movement of Samir Ja'ja' and his colleagues an international dimension and put it under the heading of the struggle between the two powers and consequently the regional struggle. However, some others have considered it just a party struggle within a single family, out of the premise that the developments in the eastern section had started to move toward a settlement after the disclosure of the goals of the "upheaval," which were limited and lay within the Christian structure and the framework of the Lebanese political game.

However, this is not to deny that what has happened is serious and dangerous. The source of the danger is the fear of more than one party official and diplomat that well-known parties will come in to exploit the situation and use it for goals which they will go beyond, as always was the case during the war in Lebanon. The danger also lies in the positions of the major countries and Syria regarding the "upheaval."

America considers that the developments taking place in the eastern sections are very dangerous for the Lebanese situation, Moscow consider that it is Israel that is behind what is happening and Syria considers that the developments in the eastern section are a mutiny against the legitimate Lebanese authorities. Meanwhile the Islamic and Christian factions in Lebanon have tended to take the latter view. The Islamic meeting in the House of Judiciary Rulings considered that the developments taking place on the ground are a type of partition which is to be rejected, while some heads of Christian factions have considered that what is going on is a struggle between party figures, that the Christian people cannot pay the price for it, and that it cannot distract the Lebanese process from its basic constants.

A Western diplomat said that by following up on what is taking place in Lebanon these days, he considers that the Lebanese people are today facing an extremely difficult situation, since there is real confusion as a result of some people's fear that the issue will shift from a struggle within a single family and group to a much more serious one, now that the signs of disturbance and preoccupations in people's spirits have started to appear among the various parties in the western and eastern sections. This is something which more than one regional and international group is waiting to exploit in the context of camouflaging plans which have been prepared for the region, and thus the dispute will turn into a struggle in which more than one local and foreign party will work on one another to resolve matters by the force of arms.

One should bear in mind that what has happened did not develop overnight. The Lebanese president, Shaykh Amin al-Jumayyil, was clear in the recent cabinet meeting when he reminded the ministers, in the presence of the delegation of the Islamic meeting -- [former] Premier Sa'ib Salam, [former] Premier Taqi-al-Din al-Sulh and the former minister Baha'-al-Din Bassat -- of what he had been stating, and continuing to state, that "the disruptive notions and slogans we are hearing and constantly rising above will of necessity be met with disruptive notions and slogans from the other party."

The president continued, "I said that it is necessary to rectify the categorization of part of Beirut as nationalist and Moslem lest that be reflected on the other section of Beirut, and that become extremist and introvertedly Christian. What I warned of has happened, and areas in Lebanon have revolted as a reaction against these conceptions and slogans. The most worrisome thing I am afraid of is that if the political and verbal violence continues, it will lead to a resumption of the climate of bombardment of secure areas and more destruction and uprooting."

Information which has been conveyed to the president and all political and party officials indicates that Lebanon is facing a delicate situation in the course of which all possibilities could unfold which could bring the country back to where it started. The information says that if the struggles in the eastern sections are not resolved by rapid settlements, danger will threaten not just a single group but all groups, because all Christian-Christian struggles are a threat not just to the Lebanese Forces and the Phalange Party but also to the Christians and could extend to all Lebanese and restore violence in all its forms, from bombardment among regions to the reopening of the lines of contact, the creation of an explosion in the area of the region and the inflammation of all fronts.

#### Statement by a Former President

A former president said that what is needed is speed in treating the domestic situation wisely and with vision. Everyone must take note of the dangers, and it is not permissible to view the uprising inimically; rather, it is necessary to understand it and proceed along the lines of thinking about what must be for the good of Lebanon and the Lebanese, since the stage today is not one of settling scores between one faction and another or settling scores within a single faction, but rather one of consensus among everyone



about a single preliminary goal which is to get Lebanon to avoid the calamity of ruin and annihilation. After that the inventory of scores will come. All the crises, dangers and designs that certain influential persons are complaining about must be a new opportunity for establishing a new country, not a pretext for eliminating Lebanon the country and the entity. What has happened in the eastern section, the former president added, is one aspect of what is unfolding among all Lebanese factions. The young people have been suffering from a national void and a void of the future after 10 years of erosion and economic, political and social dismemberment, to the point where the Lebanese have forgotten the justification for Lebanon's existence and now resemble people without a role in this region, eliminating one another and consuming the physical, spiritual, economic and nervous reserves that remain in each group!

The former president added that the responsibility for the "upheaval" here is great and the Christians must not be made to bear responsibility for the collapse of Lebanon. It is necessary that one gnaw on one's wounds in order to save Lebanon, because the loss of Lebanon will constitute a loss for all the Christians in the Orient. The responsibility as far as the forces in the uprising go is that they not through themselves give their adversaries a pretext to pick a quarrel in order to infringe on the Christians.

It is in the interests of the forces in the uprising to reach an understanding with the Lebanese government, because every Christian-Christian struggle is a threat not just to the Christians alone but also to all Lebanon, since Lebanon is a Christian venture first of all. Therefore, it is impermissible that the Christians be engulfed in armed struggles while they are better able to deal with their affairs intelligently, wisely and through discussion. Since it has been proved that violence has not solved the factions' problems with one another, how could it solve the problems existing within a single faction?

Political sources consider that Lebanon in the past 2 years has fallen prey to error twice, first before the uprising of 6 February 1984 in the west and second before the uprising of 12 March 1985 in the east.

The mistakes of the Lebanese forces and the Christians occurred during 1983, with their search for strength directly or indirectly through Israel; this drove the Moslems to the 6 February uprising and gave them every pretext as far as Syria went.

The numerous errors the Moslems and extremist Islamic religious leaders made through their search for strength through Syria in 1984 led the Christians to the reaction of 12 March 1985.

The numerous errors whose responsibility is shared by the regime and its parties on the one hand and the groups present on the stage on the other have led to the brink of the abyss.

#### The Rebels' Statement

Sources in the rebellion say that the spontaneous popular response it met with from the very beginning would not have manifested itself so forcefully

in the eastern section if there had not been much deep suppression, fear and accumulated feelings deep inside the Christians, including, for example, rumors which went around that the negotiations with Syria had started moving toward concessions regarding things on which concessions could not be made, that is, a federal agreement and security treaty with Syria. One should bear in mind that President al-Jumayyil personally assumed charge of denying these rumors, the purpose behind whose circulation has now become known.

A further accumulated feeling is the government agencies' inclination to give the Moslems and the "nationalists" everything they want in order to satisfy them, while the Christian areas are not getting any attention or tangible support, especially as far as attention to displaced persons, in particular those from the mountain, is concerned. Meanwhile the Islamic leaders are calling on their groups to boycott the government and even refrain from paying telephone and electricity bills.

One more such accumulated feeling is the point public opinion among Christians keeps making, that their representatives in actual fact, that is, the Lebanese Forces, have offered the government everything they can in order to support the legitimate authorities and make them stand on their own two feet. They have given up the ports, shut down the fifth basin and handed over all their papers to the government, while the government has not been able to extend its authority to the other side or receive any new "gift" from Syria.

The sources in the rebellion go on to state "Syria itself, of whose support some elements in the regime sing praises, has not offered the government what the Lebanese Forces have." The source wonders what arrangements Syria has made with the other parties which have also been counted on to offer the government support, especially since the road to the airport is still unsafe and it is not possible for undesirable parties to control it, as well as the road to the south, which in spite of all the arrangements which have been declared remains unopen to Christians. This is aside from raising the basic, essential issues, such as the return of displaced persons to the mountain and fundamentally solving the Lebanese problem." The source adds, "What guarantee has the policy of seeking recourse with Syria and relying on the Syrian card given us, since the Christian areas are still subject to bombardment and the security of the Christians is still subject to disruption at any moment from Syria's allies or directly from Syrian artillery? One should bear in mind that we are not against mutual understanding with Syria as a neighbor with distinctive historic relations with Lebanon, but we are opposed to violations against reasonable borders and against the exercise of the policy of repression which President al-Asad condemned in his famous 1976 speech, which Shaykh Pierre al-Jumayyil is always citing as evidence."

#### Questions

Political sources raise a number of questions about the "rebellion" and the extent of its repercussions on Lebanese developments. These sources consider that there is a lack of clarity in the makeup of the forces behind the rebellion and its reserves and goals. Is this Samir Ja'ja's response to the Phalange Party's decision to dismiss him, is it a rebellion by the Lebanese

forces against the Phalange Party, or is it a rebellion by elements which are in harmony with the leadership, especially since public opinion is bewildered at times whether to call the movement "the Christian decisionmaking movement," "the rebellion," an "emergency body" or "the collective leadership"?

From the standpoint of goals, public opinion is bewildered whether to consider that they are against the Phalange Party, against the president's current or in favor of the establishment of a free Christian community under any conditions and in any framework of mutual understanding or coexistence with other Lebanese groups.

The political sources pause to contemplate the rebellion's declaration of its acceptance of the Syrian option in principle, through its support of dialogue with Syria. Its attack on the president is on behalf of this option. Another point which observers also pause to consider is bewilderment whether to describe the movement from the beginning as a coup against the presidency, as the president himself said before influential Christians, or a later rallying around this issue, which it promoted to the point of defending the president.

These sources have wondered about the fate of the results of the latest Bikfaya meeting and its positive atmosphere, the fate of the security committees and the extent of their ability to act in the circumstances of the new realities.

#### Regional Skirmishing

An independent Christian deputy says that the important thing is that elements do not enter into the framework of the "rebellion" which might cause it to deviate from its goals and give it dimensions other than the ones it has, lest the 12 March movement succumb to the fiasco that afflicted the 6 February movement and yield its regions and people no fruit except destruction, waste and further violence and fragmentation.

In spite of all the manifestations of extremism within the two groups, the recent events have brought a current to the fore which is led by a group of moderates. Their thinking is that Lebanon cannot alone pay the price for the events in the Middle East and the arrangements made for them and that Lebanese in the eastern and western sections cannot be the scapegoat for the regional schemes and conspiracies that are being hatched. These circles say that the disturbance in the two sections will bring the government to a dead end. When the Christians and the Moslems make the government bear all the responsibilities for the mistakes and the Christians and Moslems decline to share in bearing any of them, that means that the whole country is brought to destruction and to the demolition of the notion of a comprehensive, single country.

The stage of political turmoil the Middle East is going through, with its repercussions on the Lebanese stage, portends the threat that the south will be taken out from under the control of Lebanese decisionmaking. Therefore 1985 must not resemble 1979, that is, the Lebanese must not carry out by

their own hands what some regional forces are aiming at, to take the south out from under the control of Lebanese sovereignty and throw it into the vortex of the Middle East crisis.

One diplomat in a statement he had previously made to AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WAL-DUWALI last November, 1984, pointed out that Lebanon and the Middle East had to pass through three stages in the course of the next 3 or 6 months:

First, the stage of preparations and the resolution of the preparations; this would start in December and extend to February.

Second, the stage of options, and the resolution of the options, which would start in March and go to May (what is meant by their resolution is the military or political resolution).

Third, the stage of the solutions, and the imposition of the solutions. That would begin in June and go to August 1985.

The diplomat said that the challenge which is being presented to the Lebanese leaders is that they be at a level of national awareness of salvation and not fall into the trap. Lebanon, which is absorbing the crisis of the Middle East, with all its complications, will not be incapable of absorbing its own crises and the crises of its people, its parties and its factions -- on condition that it prevail, and that it continue to have the wherewithal to survive. If Lebanon falls this time, that will be the beginning of the explosion of the whole Middle East.

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LEBANON

BRIEFS

FOREIGN TRADE STATISTICS--In cooperation with United Nations agencies, the national board for foreign trade relations put out statistics on Lebanese foreign trade for the years 1977-1983. The work lasted about 5 months, and the results were published under three headings: 1 - years (1977-1983); 2 - materials imported or exported (ten commodity groups); and 3 - countries which had trade relations with Lebanon (120 countries). Until 1974, the customs department had been in charge of foreign trade statistics, but with the outbreak of events and the loss of security and ports, that became impossible, until the Beirut chamber stirred itself and prepared statistics going back to 1977. Then they stopped. Doubtless the use of foreign sources in estimating Lebanese imports for the years 77-83 greatly reduced the smuggling factor, which takes away a not inconsiderable portion of the volume of imports. [Text] [Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 30 Mar 85 p 37] 12547

AIRPORT TRANSIT FIGURES--The number of transit passengers passing through the Beirut airport fell to a very low level. The number of transit passengers in 1984 was 7,035, compared to 59,704 passengers in 1983; in other words, a drop of 52,669, or 88.2 percent. It is feared that the number of transit passengers will drop more and more during the current year because of the security situation and because a number of airlines are avoiding the use of Beirut airport as a transit station, using instead Cyprus at times and Amman at others. [Text] [Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 30 Mar 85 p 37] 12547

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PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

PALESTINIANS VOICE OPTIMISM OVER MURPHY MEETING

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 27 Apr-3 May 85 pp 8-11

[Article by Bakr 'Uwaydah: "Recognition--Step By Step"]

[Text] United States Assistant Secretary of State and Presidential Envoy Richard Murphy's meeting last week with 38 Palestinian leaders from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip was an eye-catching event over which more than one news commentator paused to remark that it was far more than just a reception in his honor. It was also more than just a pre-arranged coincidence; the meeting was tantamount to a move on the part of the United States to get closer to the facts which have imposed themselves on the Middle East struggle and on the attainment of a settlement of this struggle, one such fact being the Palestinian entity as represented by the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO]. While Henry Kissinger was the author of the "step-by-step" policy in the Middle East, a policy inherited by subsequent American administrations, the question of American recognition of the fact that the Palestinians must be accepted as a party to the formulation of a peaceful solution for the region obviously comes under the heading of this self-same "step-by-step" principle. Through Murphy's meeting with so many West Bank and Gaza Strip personages, Washington has taken a step along this road. In this article, AL-TADAMUN investigates this event in the field, through contacts with several of those who attended the meeting with Murphy, in order to answer several questions: who attended the meeting and what do they represent? What happened during the meeting, and what did Murphy say that was new? Who was invited and how? What did the memorandum handed to Murphy contain? What do those who attended the meeting have to say, and what impressions did they come away with? Here is the text of the analytical investigation written by Bakr 'Uwaydah in London, in cooperation with the AL-TADAMUN correspondent in occupied Jerusalem.

In Arab East Jerusalem, behind the Awqaf building and across from the Muslim cemetery where the Arab commander Abu-'Ubaydah al-Jirah and other commanders of the Arab Islamic conquest are buried, there is a street which in their time bore the name "Ma'min-Allah Street," and which today, under annexation and occupation, bears the Hebrew name "Aghrun Street." Here is located the American consulate, run by Consul General Wat Cloverius, and in this building, a few days ago, the following event took place.

At approximately 7:30 in the evening on 16 April 1985, a group of Palestinian guests began arriving at the United States Consulate General building. Inside the building, the guests were received by both the consul general and another important American personage--Assistant Secretary of State and American President Ronald Reagan's Envoy to the Middle East Richard Murphy. The guests gathered into circles of three to five persons, and Murphy circulated among these groups, listening a lot and saying little. What Murphy heard was in effect a confirmation of well-known Palestinian constants, and what he said, little as it was, was the usual American speech which, however, contained remarks which could be assumed to be preliminary suggestions of an American stand inclined toward acknowledging the Palestine Liberation Organization as a basic party to formulating a Middle East peace settlement. However, this American recognition is moving along sluggishly, step by step, and there seems to be quite some distance between one step and another. The slow-footedness of the American steps, and the distance between one step and another, leaves the field wide open to all those who feel that such a meeting with Murphy or with anyone else is inglorious and that they were right to object to or attack it.

#### How Were the Invitations Sent, and Who Attended?

The meeting lasted until about 9:00 in the evening. Those who came received their invitations in one of two ways: either in writing or orally. In either case, the person who extended the invitation was American Consul General Wat Cloverius, who said, on the invitation card, that he was inviting so-and-so to "a reception in honor of His Honor Richard Murphy, United States Assistant Secretary of State." Obviously, in the case of those who received oral invitations, the idea of inviting them came later, after the cards had been mailed. Some 38 persons responded to the written and spoken invitations. Who were they? Where do they stand? From what parts of Palestine did they come? Here are the answers.

Those invited from Jerusalem were: Lawyer Anwar al-Khatib, former governor of Jerusalem; Lawyer Anwar Nasibah, former Jordanian defense minister; Dr Amin Muhajj, a doctor at al-Maqasid Hospital; Amin al-Khatib, a doctor and president of several Arab charitable societies; Hanna Sanyurah, director general of the AL-FAJR press organization; Lawyer Ziyad Abu-Ziyad; 'Uthman al-Hallaq, an engineer and businessman; and Dr Gaby Baramki, president of Bir Zayt University.

From Nablus were invited Hikmat al-Masri, president of al-Najah University; Zafir al-Masri, head of the chamber of commerce; Basil Hamdi Kan'an, a businessman; Sa'id Kan'an, also a businessman; and Ibrahim 'Abd-al-Hadi, member

of the board of regents of al-Najah University and president of the National Insurance Company.

Those invited from the Gaza Strip were Rashshad al-Shawa, the Gaza mayor who was retired by the occupation authorities; Zuhayr al-Rayyis, a well-known lawyer and journalist; Fayiz Abu-Rahmah, a lawyer and former dean of lawyers in the Gaza Strip; Ibrahim al-Shaqa, present dean of lawyers; Mansur al-Shawa, engineer and businessman; 'Isam al-Shawa, a businessman, and Dr Ikram Matar, a doctor.

Invited from Hebron were: Mustafa al-Natshah, deputy mayor who was removed from his position by decree of the occupation authorities; Fayiz al-Qawasimi, a businessman and brother of Late Mayor Fahd al-Qawasimi; Dr Nabil al-Ja'bari, president of the board of regents of Hebron University; Dr Adib al-Qaysi, president of the league of academicians; Khalid 'Asilah, municipal council member retired by the occupation authorities; and Mahmud al-Qawwas, professor at the Polytechnic.

The following were invited from other areas: Ilyas Frayj, mayor of Bethlehem; Jamil Sabri Khalaf, appointed mayor of Ariha; Wasif Shakukani, an engineer with the Ariha Municipality; Ibrahim al-Tawil, retired mayor of al-Birah; Amin al-Nasr, mayor of Qalqiliyah; Hanna al-Atrash, mayor of Bayt Sahur; Muhammad Milham, a pharmacist from Halhul; 'Izz-al-Din al-'Aryan, a pharmacist from Ramallah; 'Isam al-'Anani, a lawyer from Halhul; Farah al-'Araj, mayor of Bayt Jala; and Hashim al-Salih, appointed mayor of Tubas.

#### Before the Meeting

Between the time the invitations were sent and the time they were accepted, two points of view prevailed among those who were and were not invited. The first can be summed up as holding that accepting the invitation is a patriotic imperative inasmuch as the Palestinians must speak up and make an effort to explain their point of view and make it clear and understandable, especially to the Americans, who are ignoring Palestinian rights. Therefore, meeting with Richard Murphy is just such an effort, which must be accompanied by the delivery of a written memorandum containing those Palestinian constants over which there is no dispute, so that the meeting would not be like previous, purely verbal meetings. The second point of view held that the facts of the problem are known to all, and that since the American administration had refused to make official contact with the PLO, and Murphy himself had refused to meet with Yasir 'Arafat in 'Amman, then there is no use in responding to the invitation to meet with him until Washington changes its official stand.

However, the scale was tipped in favor of the first point of view, because there must be continual activity in order to change the American position. The Palestinian side must not sit around waiting for this change but must act in order to bring it about. Prior to the meeting with Murphy, about half those invited met at the National Hotel in Jerusalem to study the written memorandum to be presented to Richard Murphy, which had been drafted by several of those invited. After changes were made here and there, the memorandum was signed, and the others signed it at the meeting itself.

## During the Meeting

Gaza Mayor al-Hajj Rashshad al-Shawa was chosen to deliver the memorandum. Richard Murphy accepted it, asked about its contents and its most important points, and did not voice any objection. Apart from the introduction, the memorandum, the complete text of which is published with this article, covered the following six points.

1. The Palestinians in the occupied territories are part of the Palestinian people in its entirety, one third of which live here and two thirds of which are dispersed. Any settlement of the Palestinian problem must deal with the problem as a whole, not just with the occupied territories.
2. The Palestinian problem is a national, political problem represented by the Palestinian people's insistence on attaining their national rights, especially their right to self-determination and to establish an independent state on their national soil, as well as their right to choose who will represent them, without force or mandate from anyone.
3. On more than one occasion, within the occupied territories and outside, our people have emphasized that they have selected the PLO as their sole legitimate representative, feeling that this choice is one of their basic rights.
4. Direct dealing and dialog with the PLO is the only way to put the cart on the right road and to pave the way to the possibility of achieving peace.
5. We fully support the PLO, and we demand that it be dealt with in every thing pertaining to the Palestinian cause.
6. We demand that the American administration act immediately to stop Israeli activities in the occupied Arab territories, especially those connected with settlements, seizure of land, human rights violations, and attempts to eliminate the patriotic spirit among our people's younger generations.

## What Did Murphy Say?

From our telephone calls from London to several of those who attended this meeting, the following observations can be made.

1. From the circle composed of al-Hajj Rashshad al-Shawa, Hikmat al-Masri, and Lawyer Anwar al-Khatib, Richard Murphy heard words to the effect that the United States would lose a great deal if it continued to look at the Middle East through only one eye, the eye which sees only what Israel sees. To this, Murphy replied in words to the effect that the American administration feels that peace should be made by the parties to the problem, and that its role is to stimulate the peace process. Then Murphy heard words to the effect that the PLO is one of these parties, and that it shows a lack of objectivity to ignore this fact, to view the PLO as a terrorist organization, and to then refuse to recognize it or negotiate with it. Here Murphy replied

in words that can be assumed to indicate something new, saying that the present American administration does not look upon the entire organization as a terrorist organization, but that there are some groups within it that the administration considers terrorist. As for the American administration's lack of direct dealings with the organization, this is a question which the present administration inherited from previous ones, which the present administration cannot supercede unless some development occurs on the part of the PLO to recognize Israel's right to exist. After that, unequivocal PLO acceptance of Resolution 242 would facilitate many things. Murphy heard his guests reply to his statement with words to the effect that the PLO has more than once declared that it accepts all the resolutions issued by the United Nations and the Security Council pertaining to the Palestinian cause. The agreement of 11 February 1985, signed in 'Amman by King Husayn and Yasir 'Arafat, constitutes good groundwork for the United States to begin a dialog with the organization. At this point Murphy shook his head, smiled without comment, and moved on to another group.

2. In another circle, consisting of Zuhayr al-Rayyis and several other guests, Richard Murphy heard remarks similar to those he had heard from the first circle, with additional remarks to the effect that the United States must treat the Palestinians fairly if it is really serious about seeing a just, comprehensive Middle East peace. It was also remarked to him that the Arabs in general and the Palestinians in particular have lost confidence in the sincerity of United States intentions towards them, and that America must prove that this is not so. Murphy replied in words which Zuhayr al-Rayyis told us could only have come from an experienced, shrewd diplomat who knows how to twist words so that his listeners cannot get a grip on them-- words to the effect that peace is a challenge facing us which we must overcome regardless of the vast obstacles and difficulties confronting us.

3. In another group, Richard Murphy was told that the United States' refusal to deal directly with the PLO is wasting time at the expense of peace. One of those present in this circle, the lawyer Ziyad Abu-Ziyad, says that Murphy returned the ball once again to the Palestinian court by leaning on the pretext of PLO recognition of Israel and Resolution 242. However, he did say something informative and useful in this context: "We hope that something new and positive will result from the Baghdad meeting." Here Murphy was referring to the joint meeting of the PLO Executive Committee and the Fatah Central Committee, which was being held at that time in Baghdad. However, nothing Murphy was hoping for resulted from this meeting.

4. In the circle consisting of Bethlehem Mayor Ilyas Frayj and others, Murphy heard remarks confirming what he had heard from other circles. Ilyas Frayj informed us that he told Murphy, "The American administration is mistaken if it believes that it can find, among those Palestinians living in the occupied territories, some alternative to the PLO and its legitimate leadership. Those of us here act the way the PLO acts, and we move when our legitimate leadership moves." Murphy commented with nothing more than an apparently friendly smile.



This summarizes what went on between Murphy, who spoke little, and his guests, who spoke at length about Palestinian rights and the united stand among Palestinians both within Israel and abroad as to their commitment to the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. And what happened after the meeting?

#### After the Meeting

Among West Bank and Gaza Strip political figures there were those who objected to the idea of the meeting on principle, who were not invited, and, as AL-TADAMUN learned, who would have refused the invitation if it had come. Their point of view was that America has to recognize the rights of the Palestinians before any Palestinian official sits down with it. Most outspoken in this opposition were Dr Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi of Gaza and Bassam al-Shak'ah of Nablus. We at AL-TADAMUN tried to contact them but were unsuccessful.

Press reaction was as follows. The Israeli press tried to ignore the event and considered it insignificant, but at the same time tried to cast doubt on the importance of the memorandum delivered to Murphy, saying that it had not been signed by everyone who attended the meeting. The Arabic-language AL-FAJR replied to this by publishing a photo of the document showing the signatures of everyone who was present.

The Arab press was divided into two camps. One supported the meeting for the following reason, as expressed by AL-FAJR, which said, "Those who attended the meeting spoke and conducted themselves in a way that showed their commitment to Palestinian principles and constants. The Palestinians of the occupied territories clearly and decisively put these facts to the American envoy, thus precluding any possibility of isolating the land. They wanted to confirm these facts and constants to the American side, which still insists on refusing to be convinced of this proven fact."

The second trend, as expressed by AL-MITHAQ, which follows the viewpoint of the National Alliance organizations and which supports the Abu-Musa movement against Yasir 'Arafat's leadership, and by AL-TALI'AH, the mouthpiece of the Palestinian Communist Party within Israel, attacked the meeting and was openly hostile to it.

AL-TADAMUN asked several of those who attended about their impressions of the meeting, its significance as they saw it, and their reaction to criticisms, and we can report the following.

Rashshad al-Shawa said, "True, our meeting with Richard Murphy was nothing new, but it was an opportunity for us, the Palestinian side, to confirm our stand on our belief in and right to self-determination, and our constitutional, democratic right to choose who will represent us, even if it is the PLO. We informed Richard Murphy of this, and we asked him to tell his administration that the PLO is the Palestinian people, at home and abroad. We also told him that United States opposition to an international conference attended by the Soviet Union obstructs the establishment of peace in the region,

because the Soviets must attend and must be a party. When Richard Murphy told us that he does not consider the entire PLO a terrorist organization, this was a positive thing. True, we cannot deduce from the meeting that there is a positive tendency involving an imminent American decision to recognize the P.O, but I can say that this is only a matter of time. The important thing is for us in the occupied territories to persevere, with the material and moral support and guidance of our people and brothers abroad, especially since our circumstances within the occupied territories are extremely difficult. Those who objected to the meeting are free to do so. All I can say in response to their opposition is that we are handling our affairs here in a democratic manner. The minority's opposition to the overwhelming majority supporting a certain trend does not harm or lessen the influence of that trend."

Zuhayr al-Rayyis said, "In spite of our decades-long, exhausting sufferings from the American administration's policy towards our Palestinian people and our Arab nation, a policy which has always been characterized by obvious partiality towards Israel and against the Palestinians in particular, which justifies our doubts as to the sincerity of American intentions and which generates the feeling that any American initiative is nothing but a temporary painkilling injection--in spite of all this, I am inclined, out of objectivity, to stress one of Richard Murphy's remarks to his guests, to the effect that the American administration, and all the concerned parties, are now facing the challenge of peace. In this case, a meeting like this one, by its very nature, factors and surrounding circumstances, is a small step along the long, hard road towards political struggle to achieve recognition of the Palestinian people's rights and legitimate leadership. For this reason we accepted the invitation, and also for this reason we are working hard so that the caravan can continue its journey without either the fixed facts or any opportunity for a just political solution being neglected."

Zafir al-Masri said, "Our meeting with Richard Murphy was an opportunity to explain and confirm Palestinian points of view, as well as an opportunity for the American envoy to explain his country's stands, especially with respect to recognition of Resolution 242. However, from my point of view, the most important thing reflected in the meeting was that the American presidential envoy listened to a collective statement to the effect that the PLO is our sole legitimate representative, and that we reject the idea of any other party negotiating in its stead."

Hanna Sanyurah said, "Richard Murphy came to the Middle East in order to formulate a point of view which would help make the anticipated Secretary of State's mission successful. During the meeting, Richard Murphy told us that any solution to the Middle East problem can only be achieved through the cooperation of the parties directly concerned, including the Palestinian side represented by the PLO. In this context, the Jordanian-Palestinian agreement clearly proves the Palestinians' intent and desire to make the political dialog succeed, in order to reach a just, peaceful solution. The administration of American President Ronald Reagan must respond to this positive Palestinian stand."

Ziyad Abu-Ziyad said, "We are fully aware that the American stand cannot be changed just by a meeting between some Palestinians and an American envoy, because such stands are usually formulated by a specialized American staff in light of strategic regional interests. We feel that it is our duty to imbue ourselves with the virtue of self-confidence, and to not hesitate to explain our point of view to anyone willing to listen to it, in order to bring about the desired change in our favor."

Mustafa al-Natshah said, "It is the duty of those of us in the occupied territories to continually affirm that we stand behind the PLO and that we are committed to our right to determine our own destiny and establish our independent state on our national soil. We met with Murphy in order to explain these facts to him and to ask him to relay them to the American administration. We also asked his government to try to stop Israeli practices in the occupied territories, such as building settlements and making Arab lands Jewish."

Ibrahim al-Tawil said, "There was nothing about the meeting that was encouraging or deserving of comment."

Al-Hajj Amin al-Nasr said, "We went and told Richard Murphy that we are a single Palestinian people, at home and abroad, and that we stand united behind our brother Abu-'Ammar and support his efforts to deliver the occupied territories from occupation and to achieve our people's firm national demands."

Ilyas Frayj said, "What we told Richard Murphy at this meeting confirmed what the legitimate command of the PLO says. We confirmed our adherence to Palestinian constants, and told him that peace cannot be achieved without achieving the demands of the Palestinian people. As for those who have attacked us at home and abroad, we say to them exactly what we said to Murphy--that we stand with our legitimate leadership and turn when it turns."

Fayiz Abu-Rahmah says, "It is a mistake to blow this meeting out of proportion. Some people imagine that this meeting will result in a solution to the Palestinian problem, which is a mistake. But one important fact remains: we, as Palestinians, demanded that our voices be heard, explained our viewpoints, and confirmed the constants to which we are committed. The meeting with the American envoy was a good opportunity to do this. We don't expect any dramatic American step from this meeting, but there is no reason we should not feel that the meeting was also a hint from the American administration to the Israelis that there is a Palestinian side which must be conferred with."

"As for those who attacked us over Radio Damascus, calling us traitors merely for meeting with Richard Murphy and telling him things which he might not like to hear, we say to them that the radio station over which they attacked us is the same radio station which broadcast news of Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad's meeting with Richard Murphy himself. Is what is permissible for Damascus forbidden to us?"

After this review, three observations must be made. The first is that the meeting included Palestinians whom some information media usually consider or describe as "Jordanian," or "clients of Jordan," and who are not very enthusiastic about the idea of submitting to the PLO in its capacity as representative of the Palestinian people and legitimate, qualified spokesman for the Palestinians. The fact that such persons were invited to the meeting and signed the memorandum, which frankly and unequivocally asserted the representative nature of the PLO and its right to negotiate on the Palestinian's behalf, is something that has important implications.

The second observation is that Richard Murphy was receptive to the idea of receiving a written memorandum. He could have excused himself in a seemly manner. This acceptance on his part implies a willingness to study the contents of this memorandum and to put it into the American administration's Palestinian file, which should help this administration exert some kind of pressure on Israel to accept the fact that a Palestinian side exists which has its part to play in any settlement. That is, of course, if the American administration wants to exert such pressure.

The third observation is that at this meeting, Murphy said something new--that the Americans do not consider the entire PLO a terrorist organization. The question of the PLO's recognition by the United States, with conditions beneficial to this recognition, is a question which the present administration inherited from previous administrations. Those who attended this meeting and heard this statement came away with the impression that it is only a matter of time before Washington recognizes the PLO. Obviously, two factors will determine the timing of this move. The first is whether the PLO will strengthen its military presence in addition to its political activity, and the second is whether the Arab capitals capable of putting pressure on the American administration will continue their positive activity in this direction. Unless these two things happen, the American steps will remain slow-going, sluggish and wavering, and in fact may very easily retrogress altogether the moment the Israelis show a wrathful eye.

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PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

TALAL NAJI COMMENTS ON HUSAYN-'ARAFAT AGREEMENT, USSR POSITION

Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 2 Mar 85 p 3

[Interview with Talal Naji, PFLP deputy secretary general, by Usamah Da'bul:  
"Talal Naji to TISHRIN: Soviet Union Has Denounced Amman Agreement and  
Individual Deals; Concluded Agreement is Same As Liquidationist Agreement  
of 1983"]

[Text] What may be described as reactions toward what is happening in the  
Palestinian arena in the wake of convocation of the divisive Amman council  
is currently taking place in Moscow, the Soviet capital. The features  
of these reactions have surfaced in numerous references, the most important  
being the statement of the official TASS AGENCY on the 'Arafat-Husayn  
agreement. The agency has republished this statement in a direct  
emphasis of its important contents. The statement has also been published  
by PRAVDA, the organ of the Soviet Communist Party. This comment was  
preceded by another comment broadcast by Soviet central television--a  
comment which is tantamount to a concentrated reflection of an official  
Soviet position expressed by the above-mentioned TASS commentary.

In an endeavor to examine the Soviet position vis-a-vis the conditions in  
the Palestinian arena, especially in the wake of the Amman Council and  
of the 'Arafat-Husayn agreement, we have conducted this interview with  
Talal Naji, the PFLP General Command deputy general secretary, who has held  
talks with a number of Soviet circles.

In its interview with brother Talal Naji, TISHRIN decided to touch on  
the topics of the hour and we have had this frank interview:

[Question] What is the true nature of the conditions in the Palestinian  
arena in the wake of the divisive Amman conference?

[Answer] For the true nature of the Amman conference and of the develop-  
ments that have followed it in the Palestinian arena to be clear, we must  
recall the facts which preceded its convocation.

It is well known that the differences in the Palestinian arena escalated  
and intensified after the resistance's departure from Beirut. Here I  
would like to underline a fact which may be unknown to many, namely that



differences existed in revolutionary circles, especially among the leadership ranks, because of the devious policy followed by 'Arafat in the years preceding the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, as in his position toward al-Sadat's visit to Jerusalem, toward the Camp David accords and toward al-Sadat's capitulationist treaty with Israel.

The position of the Palestinian leaderships toward these serious events was not united. We suffered a lot in order to get the PLO Executive Committee to declare a clear position vis-a-vis al-Sadat's treason and the capitulationist accords he signed at Camp David.

'Arafat was wagering on marching side by side with Anwar al-Sadat. I still recall how the Executive Committee stood incapable of taking a clear and decisive position denouncing al-Sadat's visit to Jerusalem because of 'Arafat's refusal to take such a position. 'Arafat said repeatedly in our presence that al-Sadat had deceived and abandoned him, "meaning that the two had agreed to go to Jerusalem together." I recall that we discussed at the Executive Committee meetings at the time the reasons for 'Arafat's presence at the Egyptian People's Assembly when al-Sadat delivered the speech declaring his plan to visit Jerusalem. We asked 'Arafat for a clear explanation for his presence and his failure to object to what al-Sadat declared. 'Arafat's answer was fluid and inconclusive, implying that 'Arafat did not think that al-Sadat was serious.

These facts and others confirmed that the differences were deep. We were not at all the cause of these differences. The cause was 'Arafat's laxity on the central and national issues and his fondness for maneuvers vis-a-vis our Palestinian people's and Arab nation's enemies.

'Arafat has always reiterated that he doesn't mind if all accuse him of treason as long as he is convinced that his way will lead to a settlement. It is certain that the settlement he means is not a settlement that guarantees restoration of the Palestinian people's rights as defined by successive PNC's beginning with the 1st council and ending with the 16th session, which was held in Algiers.

The disagreement continued and intensified after our departure from Beirut. 'Arafat was reiterating that the Israeli invasion of Lebanon has imposed a new equation, that the Middle East area became, according to this equation, subject to U.S. domination, that Syria was struck out of the equation altogether, that the Soviet Union has departed from the area for good, that the train of the U.S. settlement was moving at an enormous speed and that we had to catch up with the last car of the train and jump on it.

Proceeding on the basis of these principles and ideas, 'Arafat began to engage in whatever could lead to dispersing the revolution and breaking its backbone, namely its armed forces. For the sake of the truth and of history, I have not seen in my entire life an act of greater misleading, deception and falsification than the act in which 'Arafat engaged.

Let us return to the course of the events which developed during the Beirut blockade. I was at the time a member of a mini-committee which included

'Arafat, Salah Khalaf, Nayif Hawatimah, Hani al-Hasan and martyr Sa'd Sayil. We used to meet daily until a late hour of the night to assess the outcome of the day, especially when Shafiq al-Wazzan, Lebanon's prime minister at the time, was mediating between the revolution and U.S. envoy Philip Habib.

At the outset we decided to depart, responding to the wish of our comrades and brothers in Lebanon to save whatever remained of Beirut and its inhabitants who had made enormous sacrifices for our Arab Palestinian revolution.

It is then that the disagreement erupted between us and 'Arafat. We insisted on the need to contact Syria and to cable President Hafiz al-Asad in order to explain the situation to him, as 'Arafat had done with a number of Arab and foreign rulers and leaders, including King Husayn, Husni Mubarak, King Hassan and French President Mitterand. But 'Arafat insisted on boycotting Syria and on not coordinating with it even though Syria was the only state which fought on our side during the invasion. All are aware of the number of the sacrifices made by Syria in its desperate defense of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples during the invasion. Syria lost tens of aircraft, hundreds of tanks and thousands of troops during the fierce battles with the invaders. It suffices to point out that a Syrian brigade in Beirut fought so well that tens of its officers and soldiers were martyred and many of its vehicles and equipment were lost in defending Beirut.

Despite this, 'Arafat insisted on severing contacts with Syria because he had decided to proceed in the direction of the U.S. settlement after his departure from Beirut, keeping in mind that the first thing this settlement demands is this severance. We decided at that point to send an official cable in the name of the Palestinian leadership to President Hafiz al-Asad, pointing out to him the true nature of our difficult position. Hardly a few hours passes when we received the response in a public communique broadcast by the Syrian information media in the wake of an emergency meeting held by the Regional Command of the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party which had met to discuss the situation and resolved to receive all the fighters the Palestinian leadership decided to send to Syria. Despite this, 'Arafat insisted on dispersing the revolution's forces. We appealed to him to go with us to Damascus so that we may regroup our forces in al-Biq'a' to resume the fight. But he insisted on his position and proceeded to Greece under the protection of U.S., French and Italian destroyers while the other members of the Palestinian leadership proceeded to Damascus. Thus, the disagreement existed prior to the Amman council, which crowned 'Arafat's march throughout the years preceding this council.

We must remind ourselves here that 'Arafat nearly signed on 4 April 1983 a joint communique with King Husayn declaring their approval of UN Security Council Resolution 242 and their agreement to embark on settlement negotiations on the basis of the Reagan plan. However, we were able to prevent 'Arafat from signing this dangerous communique.

'Arafat then continued to prepare the Palestinian arena for the final entrenchment of the division so that he may move along with the Jordanian regime. We had warned openly of 'Arafat's destructive course and told our people's masses through the various media that 'Arafat would end up in the embraces of the Jordanian regime and, consequently, the embraces of U.S. policy in the area. We said this before, during and after the Amman council which was falsely called a national council. "Arafat and his clique have dedicated this council to launch a campaign of lies and deception against progressive Palestinians, Arab revolutionaries and the friends of our people in the socialist bloc, led by the Soviet Union, and a campaign to heap praise on the reactionary Arab symbols. All have seen 'Arafat clapping long for King Husayn while the latter was proposing to the council his plan for a settlement on the basis of Resolution 242, which practically means Reagan's plan.

The truth is that the 'Arafat-Husayn agreement had been decided in advance by the Amman council and it simply means abandoning the national rights of our Palestinian people and the PLO's right to represent our people.

[Question] What, exactly and precisely, are the contents of the 'Arafat-Husayn agreement?

[Answer] Even though not all the provisions and contents of this agreement have been fully revealed so far, the information leaked by the circles of 'Arafat's clique and by Jordanian sources is enough to provide a clear picture of this agreement. According to this information, agreement has been reached on the following:

1. Agreement by both sides on the so-called bartering of land for peace and on recognizing Israel, i.e., recognizing Israel's right to control more than 85 percent of the Palestinian land in return for the hope that it will withdraw from the remaining 15 percent.
2. Approval of Resolution 242, which considers the Palestinians mere refugees who merit compassion and not a people with national rights like other peoples.
3. Agreement between 'Arafat and the Jordanian side to form a joint delegation to negotiate with the Zionist enemy and the United States. This is a U.S.-Israeli-Jordanian demand and a demand voiced by al-Sadat.
4. There has been talk, intended as camouflage and as a smokescreen, about convening an International conference on the Middle East. The truth is that they are demanding that the negotiations be held with Israel under the canopy of this conference. This means that in accordance with their scheme, the conference will be a cover to pass the deal of capitulation to the Israeli enemy. Rather, it will be a conference similar to the one which al-Sadat demanded from the Knesset podium. This is what has been leaked regarding the agreement which is almost identical to the draft agreement that 'Arafat would have signed with King Husayn on 4 April 1983 if we had not all opposed it.

[Question] In the light of your current visit to Moscow, what are your impressions of the Soviet position vis-a-vis what is happening in the Palestinian arena in particular?

[Answer] In the view and the conviction of every member of the Palestinian people, the Soviet Union is a superpower that is defending firmly our national rights to repatriation, self-determination, national sovereignty and the establishment of an independent state.

We are "absolutely confident" that the Soviet Union holds a firm and principled position in defending the struggle of persecuted peoples. It is the stubborn enemy of world imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, and its schemes, which are hostile to the interests of the peoples.

We need no further assertions that the Soviet Union will continue its support for our people's struggle to achieve their national goals.

We know that the symbols of the Palestinian right wing are trying to distort the Soviet position through the formalities of the relationship with the Soviet Union. But we are fully confident that these endeavors will not succeed. Our people are fully aware that the Soviet Union stands with them and with their progressive forces that confront the deviation and oppose the U.S. policy which seeks to liquidate the Palestinian cause.

The Soviet Union has expressed this position decisively and clearly. We greatly appreciate the Soviet Union's boycott of the divisive Amman council. We also greatly appreciate what the Soviet leaders had declared prior to the convocation of this council, especially when Comrade Gromyko, the minister of foreign affairs, warned the Palestinian rightist leaderships against wavering in their position vis-a-vis the Reagan plan when he said verbatim: The Reagan plan is even worse than the Camp David accords and the PLO must take a clear and decisive position vis-a-vis this plan and other U.S. plans. Gromyko also said that the revolution's victory lies in the unity of its factions and in bolstering relations with its natural ally. We will not forget what Comrade Gaydar Aliyev said when he visited Damascus nearly a year ago, namely that the Soviet Union strongly supports our Palestinian people's struggle and works for the unity of the PLO on progressive nationalist bases that are hostile to imperialism and Zionism.

I have read here in Moscow the text of the commentary carried by TASS and published by PRAVDA on the 'Arafat-Husayn agreement. In light of the criteria we adopt, I consider this commentary a clear reference to the Soviet Union's denunciation of this agreement. I am confident that the Soviet Union will not at all permit the U.S. plot in the Middle East to succeed. As it stood firmly by Syria and the nationalist Lebanese and Palestinians to foil the 17 May accord, so it will stand resolutely and strongly with Syria and the nationalist Palestinians and Jordanians to prevent the passing of the new chapter of the Camp David plot which is now being hatched in Amman for the purpose of liquidating our Palestinian people's rights.



PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

PFLP OFFICIAL DISCUSSES EFFORTS TO FORM PLO ALTERNATIVE

Tunis AL-MAWQIF in Arabic 16 Mar 85 pp 43-45

[Interview with Abu 'Ali Mustafa, PFLP Political Bureau member, by Salamah Kaylah: "Abu 'Ali Mustafa to AL-MAWQIF: Amman Agreement Is Serious Qualitative Move"]

[Text] Abu 'Ali Mustafa is one of the PFLP's most prominent leaders and a member of the PFLP Political Bureau. He represented the PFLP in the negotiations which led to the Aden-Algiers Agreement.

Colleague Salamah Kaylah, AL-MAWQIF correspondent in Damascus, met with Mustafa and conducted with him a lengthy interview of which we publish here the parts pertaining to the latest developments in the Palestinian arena, namely the Amman agreement between King Husayn and Yasir 'Arafat.

[Question] The prominent issue at the Palestinian level is the issue of the agreement between King Husayn and Yasir 'Arafat. You have had a clear position on this issue. But in light of publication of the official text of the agreement, what is your general evaluation of the agreement?

[Answer] The first signals issuing from Amman indicated the political content and essence of the agreement and it was obvious that it is based on what King Husayn presented in his plan to the divisive Palestinian National Council in Amman. Without turning the issue into a legal debate over the provisions or into a legal discussion of the wording of the agreement, we saw from the beginning that the agreement's political tendency is a serious qualitative move that means relinquishing the PLO's right to sole representation of the Palestinian people and relinquishing the heart of the Palestinian program. Despite the leaking of some provisions by circles within the 'Arafat leadership through the foreign or Arab press, we saw in all cases, despite the contradictions and contrasts between this and that provision, that they all agree on a common denominator, namely "land for peace." This is the mainstay from which emanated the plan which King Husayn presented in his speech to the National Council in Amman. Consequently, the plan is based on UN Resolution 242. This means transforming the issue from an issue of a people to an issue of borders, from an issue of historical struggle and major conflict with the Zionist enemy to an issue of discussing the possibilities of coexistence with or recognition of the



settlement-oriented, racist entity at the expense of not just the Palestinian people and their future but the entire Arab nation.

This enabled us as of the first moment to determine the agreement's direction, depending on the political readings which preceded the agreement, since they were preparatory steps and preludes to the agreement, especially since the Fatah Central Committee failed to respond to all the appeals made to it to declare an open position of rejection. On the other hand, there were other signals which issued as a result of the negotiations between the mutual delegations. The latest signal came when Khalid al-Hasan carried to Amman modifications intended to improve the conditions made by King Husayn. King Husayn rejected those slight modifications and demanded that the PLO give its answer to his plan within 48 hours, linking his ultimatum with the presence of KING Fahd in Washington to pave the way for this political move between himself and 'Arafat. Through these two indicators, we can determine the political direction.

Publication of the agreement's text by King Husayn's government at the press conference held by the Jordanian acting minister of information confirms that the political contents of the agreement are the same contents we had been expecting--contents based on King Husayn's plan. Therefore, we can say that there is no difference in the position, either before or after announcement of the agreement by the Jordanian minister. But we can say that there has been a new addition exposing what 'Arafat may exploit by spreading numerous deceptive statements in the Palestinian and Arab arena concerning the true nature of the agreement. This is the one and only thing which the Jordanian minister of information has added.

For us, nothing new has been added. Therefore, we consider the danger of this qualitative move to lie in the shift of this ['Arafat's] faction to the unpatriotic position. The agreement has actually relinquished the PLO's power of sole representation and the essence of the Palestinian program. This danger is underlined by the statements made by the anti-'Arafat factions and by the press conference which Dr George Habash held and which AL-HADAF published. These statements and conference have warned of the danger of this move, of its contents and of what it means politically, not just to the Palestinian resistance movement but also to the Arab liberation movement because the move means Camp David. What is more dangerous than Camp David is that for the first time ever, the United States relies in its political movement on reactionary Arab circles and parties and on a Palestinian cover which al-Sadat could not obtain during the initial Camp David negotiations. This is the most dangerous aspect. In our view, Camp David has not meant throughout the preceding years just an agreement concluded on the issue of borders, withdrawals and so forth. Camp David has meant and continues to mean to us delivering the PLO over to U.S. domination and to the Zionist entity's terms. This is Camp David. When this step, which is more dangerous than Camp David, materializes then it means the same consequence in a more dangerous manner and in a manner that undermines the Arab liberation movement.

This is why we insist on immediate efforts to confront and foil this agreement. Not only this, we also insist on dropping this course and its

symbols. If some think that it is possible to drop this course in isolation from the symbols that represent it in the Palestinian arena, they are wrong because the political tragedies experienced by the Palestinian arena are the responsibility of this course, of its symbols and of its leadership. We tie the result to the cause and we do not separate them. Therefore, our masses, the Arab liberation forces and our international allies are required to support our program which moves in this direction in order that the PLO may regain its national line and may preserve its program and its right to represent the Palestinian people.

If you examine the matter in a fundamental way, you find that what is required of the reactionary faction is to wipe out the Palestinian people's struggle identity and to restore these people, through an act of coercive subjoining, to their condition before the emergence of the armed struggle and the beginnings of the modern Palestinian revolution and, consequently, to tie this issue to the United Kingdom plan, now called the confederal state. These are tactical names for the same thing and are aimed at achieving the same objective. This act of coercive subjoining will not even produce the storm called the alternative homeland. This storm is used in certain political stations by Israel and the United States to scare King Husayn and to push him to move quickly in the direction of meeting with the U.S.-Zionist scheme. The fact is that nothing will come out of the U.S. plan, not an alternative homeland nor a real homeland. All that the plan seeks is to negate the Palestinian cause and to reattach the Palestinian people to the Jordanian regime. This is what Reagan's plan provides for, since the plan believes that the solution to the Palestinian issue comes through Jordan and that the new plan offered by King Husayn is the modified Arab version of the Reagan plan and actually leads to the same conclusion as the Reagan, i.e., it talks of Resolution 242, thus giving the issue a border dimension based on the 1967 resolution. This will not make us preoccupy ourselves with the possibility of attempts to create a Palestinian-Jordanian conflict over the issue of an alternative homeland. The Americans may play this rough game or the Israelis may play this revolting game with King Husayn. It is our assessment that this kind of conflict is intended fundamentally to move the wheels quickly toward convening another Camp David to complement the first one. Why do we say this? It is not because we trust the United States or Israel or their motives, which seek to fragment the area even further, either through regional or sectarian entities, through wars or through other means. The schemes of the United States and Israel have exposed themselves repeatedly and the experience in Lebanon has also exposed them. But, fundamentally, if we stress this statement, we fear that the emphasis will lead some people to interpret this to mean that there is a conflict between the presence of King Husayn as a regime and U.S.-Israeli interests over the possibility of arranging the area's affairs. We don't see such a conflict. On the contrary, King Husayn, as a regime, is a good employee in the service of the U.S.-Israeli scheme in the area. The time has not yet come to dispense with this employee's services. He is still performing his task in the best manner possible, responds to all the U.S. schemes and is more seriously and actively involved with the reactionary axis than the other Arab reactionary circles. In the eyes of the United States, this regime

is the only qualified party because, in its location which is adjacent to Israel, it constitutes a barrier and an obstacle in the face of the possibility of liberation. Why should they sacrifice King Husayn to set up an alternative homeland or any other regime? We are not convinced of this.

[Question] You have advocated in this period the formation of a broad national front to oppose Yasir 'Arafat's step. What are the specifications of this front, who are the forces concerned with it and what are the steps taken recently in this direction?

[Answer] When the national forces agree on diagnosing the danger, regardless of whether they declare their diagnosis individually or in blocs, then this forms a common denominator for meeting these forces on coalitionist-frontal grounds. We are now witnessing in the Palestinian arena and in the Palestinian national movement political statements and individual collective or semi-collective positions on diagnosing this danger that is embodied in the deviationist course and its symbols and that is reflected in the agreement with King Husayn.

There is a rule for all national fronts, even though each country has its special characteristics and experiences. There are general rules that govern all experiences. National fronts arise when a group of political and social forces agrees at a certain political phase to define a certain line. When this political line is defined, these forces are supposed to take a practical step. The question that imposes itself--and we are the first to bring up this question--is: what is the practical step? It may be enough to say such and such regarding the agreement, to describe the agreement and to describe its dangers, its preludes, its consequences and its harm. But ultimately we as organized vanguard forces, regardless of whether we are movements, parties or whatever, must ask: what is the practical step that we will take in the confrontation? There is a leadership that is betraying the cause. Aren't these organized forces supposed to move forth and say: There is, on the other hand, a national leadership determined to continue to fly the banners of the national program? This is the alternative question: will the organizations be content with struggling individually, i.e., with each organization marching to its own tune, as they say? If this is the case, then the effort and the energy are wasted and the opportunity to foil the enemy's scheme is lost. Therefore, we have called and will continue to call for organization within a frontal framework. This constitutes the best opportunity, or else, people will continue to be unaware of the political meaning of frontal action and of the political meaning of the struggle phases in the lives of peoples and will not be able to organize themselves as forces.

This is why we consider the PLO the Palestinian people's organization. Nobody may claim to own this organization or may dispose of its affairs. The PLO is a moral and political expression of the Palestinian national identity and the national program is a struggle program on which all the political, social and national forces of our Palestinian people agree. There are attempts to drag the PLO into a position of subservience to the

U.S.-Zionist-Arab reactionary scheme. Our duty requires us to strengthen this instrument so that the PLO may continue to be the organization of the honorable nationalists and of all the Palestinian people and may continue to stand on the ground of the national program. This will not be done unless all these forces are brought together in a coalition that may not take its final form now and may not announce institutions similar to those of the Liberation Organization because there is a long experience that deserves to be studied (meaning the experience of the Rejectionist Front). But at least for the present, what is required is not to wage the battle of institutions with the defeatist side in the Palestinian arena. What is required is to wage the political battle. This dictates formation of the frontal coalition we are advocating. The front, after agreement on the political bases and on action lines under the category of tasks, can then embark on a temporary organizational format that constitutes a more advanced phase in developing Palestinian activity.

In this regard, we presented written proposals to all the Palestinian forces and organizations and asked for immediate meetings at the office of the PNC chairman. Meetings did take place in the presence of the PNC chairman, of the Executive Committee members and of those opposed to the policy of deviation and its symbols, namely the PFLP, Fatah Movement-the Uprising, the Popular Front-General Command, al-Sa'iqah and the Popular Struggle Front. The Democratic Front, the Palestinian Communist Party and the Palestine Liberation Front were absent from the meetings even though we had invited them. They believe in the need for more deliberation, and they are free to have their own viewpoint. They also believe that the Democratic Alliance formula continues to be capable of performing this task. We do not agree with them and we believe that the situation dictates that all the forces be brought together in a coalition or under whatever name you wish. We do not disagree on the name. The important thing is the political content and its tasks in the confrontation.

This is why we are determined that there be counteraction that states: This is the national leadership, this is the national program and this is the PLO. What 'Arafat embodies, what he says, neither 'Arafat, his agreement with Husayn, his programs, the leadership that is with him nor those who support him represent the Palestinian people. They have strayed from the national line. This is the point that must be decided without vacillation.

There is a difference of ideas and opinions among the organizations. But nobody asks organizations within the framework of a frontal coalition to merge in a single party on the basis of ideology and an internal constitution.

We have achieved results which, I can say, are positive and good and which will certainly announce themselves in the near future. They will announce themselves not only in a political program but also in an active experience confronting the course of deviation and its symbols and working to foil it. As I have said, we hope that encouraging positive results will materialize shortly. But we declare that this framework is open to all the national forces, personalities and unions that accept this program.



[Question] Does this mean the breakup of the Democratic Alliance?

[Answer] We continue to hold our meetings within the framework of the Democratic Alliance to discuss the issues. We will exert persistent and patient efforts, since we are, as I have already noted, the advocates of a coalition that combines all and that we are not the advocates of axes. We will exert persistent and patient efforts to disseminate the conviction we have reached, namely to advocate a frontal action that organizes all the Palestinian national forces, organizations, unions and personalities. We continue our action and our meetings within the framework of the Democratic Alliance and we hope that this will result in a positive response. As I have already said, our national duty requires us to combine all that is national. Because we are now contacting the national personalities, who are individuals and not organizations, and we are eager to have these personalities exert their efforts and action within this framework, then it behooves us to include all the organizations.

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SYRIA

STUDY TRACES ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF REVOLUTION

Industrial Progress

Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 17 Mar 85 p 3

[Article by Dr 'Abd-al-Malik al-Akhras: "Figures Speak for Economy of Modern and Developed Syria Under Auspices of Ba'th Revolution"]

[Excerpts] It is well known that industry constitutes one of the main economic sectors forming the gross national product. It also plays a prominent role in the economic and social development process.

Therefore, it is not surprising to see that most of the countries moving on the path of development have begun to devote special attention to this vital sector in order to overcome the stranglehold of backwardness and not to give their economies an agricultural character.

The political leadership of Arab Syria realizes the importance of developing this sector on the basis of its faith in the need to achieve a balanced and rapid development. Consequently, since the inception of the 8 March revolution, particularly in the wake of the correction movement, this leadership has devoted special attention to this sector by virtue of the role it can perform in the socialist transformation process and in creating the advanced industrial base capable of bolstering the country's development.

We can say that after the passage of 22 years, Arab Syria has been able to enter a new phase of industrial development reflected clearly in the big growth in the volume of the industrial sector's contribution to the gross domestic product. This contribution amounted to 14,388 million Syrian pounds by the end of 1984, compared to no more than 103 million Syrian pounds in 1961.

In other words, the volume of industrial production in Arab Syria has grown nearly 19-fold in the 22 years of the 8 March revolution and nearly 12-fold since the inception of the correction movement.

The facts indicate that since the inception of the 8 March revolution, industrial projects in Arab Syria have occupied top place in the economic and social development plans. After the passage of just 1 year of the

revolution and at the end of 1964, a number of socialist decrees and decisions aimed at nationalizing most of the major companies were issued. In the wake of those decrees, the number of companies belonging to the nationalized industrial public sector amounted to 157 companies employing 31,618 workers and with a capital estimated at 432.8 million Syrian pounds. We will try to shed some light on the development of Arab Syria's industrial production by reviewing the four 5-year plans that have been implemented and also by reviewing the main features of the industrial sector in the Fifth 5-year Plan.

#### Fifth 5-Year Economic and Social Development Plan Covering the 1981-85 Period

Because energy is the artery of life and its mover in the sphere of economic and social development, the Fifth 5-year Plan has sought to invest economically in heavy oil, to embark on energy rationalization and to increase oil and gas production to the maximum limit permitted by the country's technical and economic conditions.

In the electricity, gas and water sectors, the plan has sought to set up the power plants necessary to meet consumption needs, to build transmission and distribution networks covering all parts of the country and to secure clean drinking water for all the country's citizens.

In the sphere of mineral and semi-mineral resources, it has been decided to increase phosphate production to insure development of the industries that are based on converting this production and to increase exports. It has also been decided to intensify interest in prospecting for iron ore by virtue of its fundamental importance to industry, especially to the manufacture of the means of production.

In the sphere of the processing industry, the plan has devoted special attention to the industrial sector's structure by setting up and boosting the industries characterized by their ability to encourage industrial development and to benefit ideally from the existing production capacities. The plan has also devoted attention to setting up projects that complement the conversion industries and that process the local raw materials.

There are 76 new projects for conversion industries in the Fifth 5-year Plan, the most important being the projects to set up an iron and steel complex, a plant for the production of copper bars, a car assembly plant, a new line for the production of tractors, a plant for the production of human and veterinary drugs, enlargement of the capacity of the cotton yarn and textile plant and other important projects.

The volume of the estimated investments in this plan for the industry sector amounts to nearly 27 billion Syrian pounds, of which 25.3 billion are for the public sector and 1.7 billion for the private sector. The estimates for the investments in the industry sector amount to 26.6 percent of the total investments, or 101.5 billion Syrian pounds. Thus, the 8 March revolution has been able to strengthen with its rich procession the bases of the socialist transformation and to create an advanced industrial base capable

of leading our steadfast country, which is waging the two battles of building and liberation, with advanced strides toward building the modern Syria.

#### What Do Statistical Charts Say?

On the peripheries of the statistical charts published on this page, we may draw attention to the following:

Chart No 1 shows that the value of industrial production at the inception of the revolution in 1963 amounted to 1,991 million pounds and in 1984 amounted to 37,665 million Syrian pounds, thus increasing 18.9 times in comparison with 1963. Moreover, this production grew nearly 11.9 times from the inception of the correction movement in 1970 until 1983.

Chart No 1. Development of Industrial Production at Current Prices in 1963-84 Period.

Year	Production Value (In Millions of Syrian Pounds)	Production Development Since 1963
1963	1,991	100
1965	2,162	108
1970	3,226	162
1975	8,933	488
1980	24,383	1,224
1982	35,270	1,771
1983	37,469	1,882
1984	37,665	1,892

A review of the data contained in Chart No 2 shows that the capital invested in the public industrial sector amounted to 66.4 million pounds [in 1963] and rose to 55,512 million Syrian pounds in 1984, i.e. increasing 83,602 times. It is also noticed that this development occurred especially after the inception of the correction movement, with the volume of the capital invested rising from 2,305,800,000 Syrian pounds in 1970 to 55,512 million pounds in 1984.

Chart No 2. Development of Capital Invested in Industrial Sector in 1963-84 Period.

Year	Capital Invested (In Millions of Pounds)	Percentage Development
1963	66.4	100
1965	432.8	652
1970	2,305.8	3,473
1975	5,517.4	8,309
1980	33,148.3	49,922
1982	36,220.8	54,549
1983	51,925.0	78,200
1984	55,512.0	83,602

Chart No 3 shows that the number of workers in the industry, energy and fuel sectors at inception of the revolution in 1963 amounted to 96,498 workers, with this number growing to 281,130 workers in 1984. This means that the number of workers rose 2.9 times. Thus, the revolution provided 183,511 work opportunities in the industrial sector alone.

Chart No 3. Growth in Number of Industrial Workers in 1963-84 Period.

Year	Number of Workers	Percentage Development
1963	96,498	100
1965	99,343	103
1970	123,127	128
1975	204,304	212
1980	251,273	260
1982	265,446	275
1983	280,009	290
1984	281,130	291

As for Chart No 4, it shows that at the inception of the revolution in 1963 the gross industrial product amounted to 903.1 million Syrian pounds and rose to 14,388 million Syrian pounds [in 1984], thus growing 17.9 times over 1963.

Moreover, the contribution of gross industrial production to gross national production rose considerably, with this contribution representing 20.4 percent in 1963 and rising to 17.9 percent in 1984 [as published].

Chart No 4. Development of Gross Domestic Industrial Production and Its Percentage to Total Gross Production in 1963-84 Period (In Millions Syrian Pounds).

Year	Gross Production	Gross Industrial Production	Development Percentage	Percentage of Industrial Production's Contribution
1963	4,425.4	903.1	100	20.4
1965	5,083.0	1,006.4	111	19.8
1970	6,848.1	1,559.6	173	22.8
1975	20,711.4	4,173.8	462	20.2
1980	51,799.0	9,006.0	997	17.4
1982	72,484.0	14,256.0	1,578	19.6
1983	76,915.0	14,324.0	1,586	18.6
1984	80,211.0	14,388.0	1,593	17.6

#### Agricultural Developments

Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 18 Mar 85 p 4

[Article by Dr 'Abd-al-Malik al-Akhras]

[Text] The 8 March revolution overturned many economic and social concepts and relations that were prevalent in the past and created the scientific foundation for the bases of the socialist transformation and of building a united and advanced Arab society.

The 8 March revolution was not only against subservience and division but also carried within it a deep understanding of the problems of economic and social backwardness which our country must tackle.

Consequently, the issue of rebuilding economic relations, led by agricultural relations, is the main task for which the state has tried to create strong economic bases.

Since the inception of the revolution, the state has tried to change the skeletal structure of the agricultural sector, beginning with implementation of the agrarian reform law which wiped out agricultural feudalism and replaced the capitalist relations prevalent in the countryside with socialist relations. In accordance with this law, the state seized the excess lands of the big



landowners. The confiscated lands are estimated at 1,401,300 hectares, including 68,000 hectares of level and tree-planted lands, 1,147,800 hectares of dry-farm lands and 185,500 hectares which were not exploited at the time.

Perhaps the second magnificent accomplishment is the construction of the great Euphrates Dam. This accomplishment has been achieved on the strength of the state's belief that regardless of how diverse the plans to increase agricultural production are, securing water is the basis for developing agriculture because there can be no agriculture and no life without water. It is well known that Arab Syria has poor water resources and that Syrian agriculture has relied, and continues to rely to a certain degree, on rain. Consequently, it is subject to severe fluctuations, especially in drought years. Because of this, the state has built the Euphrates Dam and a number of other dams to secure the water needed for agriculture. But it is still necessary to build more dams and various irrigation projects and to introduce the modern irrigation systems that provide crops with the water they need while reducing the waste of water to the minimum.

Nearly 31.7 percent of the country's total labor is currently engaged in agriculture, according to the 1983 statistics. Even though the percentage of the labor working in agriculture is declining year after year, agriculture's contribution to the gross domestic production has generally maintained its level, amounting to nearly 18 percent. Agricultural exports also contribute nearly 13 percent to the country's total exports to the outside world. This percentage has been declining for the following reasons:

1. The growth in exports generally, especially the industrial and non-agricultural exports.
2. The growth in agricultural exports, but by a much smaller percentage than the growth in total exports.

Even though the value of agricultural exports rose from 507 million Syrian pounds in 1970, i.e., the equivalent of 65 percent of the country's total exports, to 973 million pounds in 1983, the latter figure amounted to only 13 percent of the total exports which rose from 775 million Syrian pounds in 1970 to 8,547 million pounds in 1983.

#### Agricultural Mechanization

It can also be said that the construction of the tractor factory in Aleppo represents an advanced phase of the country's agricultural development. With the drop in the manpower working in agriculture, the machine has had to replace this manpower, not to mention the numerous economic and social benefits brought about by the introduction of machinery.

The number of tractors used in agriculture rose from 6,698 tractors in 1963 to nearly 37,520 tractors in 1984, i.e., an increase of nearly 466 percent, whereas this figure increased by no more than 35 percent in the period from 1963 to 1970.

Moreover, the number of agricultural combines rose from 1,660 in 1963 to 2,807 combines in 1984, i.e., an increase of nearly 69 percent. The number of irrigation pumps rose from 20,990 pumps in 1963 to 66,205 pumps in 1984, i.e., an increase of nearly 215 percent, as shown in Chart No 1.

Chart No 1. Development in Number of Machinery Pieces in 1970-84 Period.

Year	Tractors	Combines	Irrigation Pumps
1970	9,031	1,455	29,042
1971	9,606	1,433	29,437
1972	10,374	1,380	29,954
1973	11,574	1,709	32,192
1974	12,864	1,744	37,591
1975	15,303	1,644	40,416
1976	18,567	2,146	40,500
1977	20,672	2,359	40,650
1978	23,329	2,189	41,557
1979	25,340	2,329	47,986
1980	27,544	2,329	47,206
1981	31,387	2,659	56,499
1982	35,533	2,958	60,057
1983	37,216	2,786	64,999
1984	37,920	2,807	66,205

After the tractor plant, the nitrogenous fertilizer plant was set up and it produced in the 1980-83 period the quantities shown in Chart No 2. The importance of producing chemical fertilizers in the country is no secret, especially since their prices have risen internationally. The importance of the fertilizers to increasing the productivity of the agricultural crops is also no secret.

Chart No 2. Production of Nitrogenous Fertilizer Plant in 1980-83 Period.

Year	Nitrogenous Fertilizer (Tons)	Phosphate Feritlizer (Tons)	Urea (Tons)	Liquid Ammonia (Tons)
1980	48,315	-	-	-
1981	59,607	68,232	15,000	24,079
1982	116,543	115,746	70,211	14,760
1983	112,682	115,991	141,776	56,370

Regarding the development of the country's livestock resources, the state has set up companies specialized in the production of poultry, fish, cattle and sheep, in addition to the Public Fodder Company.

For example, the Public Poultry Company has eight installations in the governorates of Damascus, Hamah, Tartus, al-Suwayda', Idlib, Aleppo, al-Ladhiqiyah and Hims. Together, these installations have produced 5,429 tons of (pullet) meat and 1,413 tons of chicken meat, nearly 172 million table eggs and 6.8 million hatching eggs, in addition to nearly 4.6 million pullets.

All of the above steps and efforts have had a strong impact on agricultural production, both crop and livestock production, since 1963. We will review here how this sector has developed:

#### Crop Production

The crop production is embodied in grains, legumes, vegetables, industrial crops and fruit trees.

Grain production rose by nearly 34 percent from 1963 to 1984. This growth has resulted fundamentally from increased productivity per cultivated unit and this increase has been achieved by increasing the amount of fertilizer used and by introducing new strains of improved seed, especially Mexican wheat varieties.

Chart No 3 shows the development in the acreage and productivity of grains in the 1963-70 period and the 1970-83 period and shows how the cultivated acreage rose gradually, with the increase amounting to 7 percent between 1983 and 1984. Meanwhile, we find that production dropped in 1970 because of bad weather only to rise sharply in subsequent years, with the total increase amounting to 32 percent between 1963 and 1983. It must be noted here that the 1984 season was poor because of bad weather conditions.

**Chart No 3. Development of Acreage, Production and Productivity of Grains in 1963 and in 1970-84 Period.**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Acreage (in 1,000 Hectares)</b>	<b>Production (in 1,000 tons)</b>	<b>Productivity (in Tons per Hectare)</b>
1963	2,432	2,024	0.8
1970	2,502	885	0.4
1971	1,744	815	0.5
1972	1,995	2,562	1.3
1973	2,426	725	0.3
1974	2,277	2,324	1.0
1975	2,745	2,196	0.8
1976	2,808	2,918	1.0
1977	2,602	1,637	0.6
1978	2,636	2,455	0.9
1979	2,580	1,763	0.7
1980	2,699	3,881	1.4
1981	2,640	3,557	1.3
1982	2,848	2,281	0.8
1983	2,843	2,695	0.9
1984	2,602	1,411	0.5

The production of legumes also rose by nearly 56 percent in the 1963-83 period as a result of the increase in productivity per acre. The acreage cultivated with legumes increased by nearly 29 percent between the above-mentioned years whereas its productivity rose by nearly 29 percent between 1963 and 1983. In 1984, the acreage cultivated with legumes and the production and the productivity of legumes dropped because of the poor weather conditions prevalent during the year. Chart No 4 demonstrates the acreage, production and productivity of legumes in 1963 and in 1970-83.

Chart No 4. Development in Acreage, Production and Productivity of Legumes in 1963 and in 1970-84 Period.

Year	Acreage (in 1,000 Hectares)	Production (in 1,000 Tons)	Productivity (in Tons per Hectare)
1963	179	129	0.7
1970	229	109	0.5
1971	216	153	0.7
1972	236	214	0.9
1973	241	81	0.3
1974	255	210	0.8
1975	223	147	0.7
1976	312	275	0.9
1977	318	227	0.7
1978	277	200	0.7
1979	173	108	0.6
1980	255	239	0.9
1981	229	193	0.8
1982	172	148	0.9
1983	240	211	0.9
1984	165	127	0.8

#### Industrial Crops

These crops reflect the peak of modern development in the country's agriculture and are led by cotton, tobacco and beets. The importance of cotton is no secret, since it is the country's main cash crop. The efforts exerted to develop the quantity and quality of this crop and to enhance its international reputation are also no secret. Moreover, this crop provides the raw material for the country's ginning plants and spinning and textile plants. This is why cotton production rose to reach 526,000 tons in 1983, compared to 422,000 tons in 1982, with an increase of 25 percent between the 2 years and an increase of 28 percent over 1963, when the production was 410,000 tons. This growth in cotton production has been achieved as a result of increased productivity, which rose from 1.4 tons per hectare in 1963 to 3



tons in 1983, i.e., growing by 114 percent. The increase in productivity is the main factor in the increase achieved in production despite the drop in the acreage cultivated with cotton, since this acreage dropped from 292,000 hectares in 1963 to 176,000 hectares in 1983, i.e., decreasing by nearly 40 percent.

It is axiomatic that the increase in productivity is the result of the care given to this crop, the use of modern means in cultivating it, the utilization of improved seeds and fertilizers and so forth

The same applies to the beet crop, which is processed into sugar in the country. Because sugar is a sensitive strategic commodity, the state planned to produce it locally. This is why it built a number of sugar plants and has drawn up plans to increase beet production, with this production growing from just 87,000 tons in 1963 to 1,133,000 tons in 1984, i.e., an increase of 1,202 percent. This is an enormous increase by all criteria. It can be said that beet production is rising each year. For example, it amounted to 564,000 tons in 1981, i.e., it rose by nearly 100 percent from 1981 to 1984. The growth in production is the result of the two main factors determining this production, namely the increase in the acreage cultivated emanating from horizontal expansion, with the acreage cultivated increasing from 4,000 hectares in 1963 to 35,000 hectares in 1984, i.e., a growth of nearly 775 percent. Productivity also rose from 21.5 tons per hectare in 1963 to 32.7 tons per hectare in 1984, i.e., growing by 52 percent.

Generally, a very big increase has been achieved in the production of industrial crops. This increase is the result of the big growth in productivity, despite the drop in cultivated acreage.

Chart No 5 shows the development in the acreage, production and productivity of industrial crops in 1963 and the 1970-84 period.

Chart No 5. Development in Acreage, Production and Productivity of Industrial Crops in 1963 and in 1970-84 Period.

Year	Acreage (in 1,000 Hectares)	Production (in 1,000 Tons)	Productivity (in Tons per Hectare)
1963	318	518	1.6
1970	291	652	2.2
1971	298	678	2.3
1972	317	720	2.3
1973	260	600	2.3
1974	282	575	2.0
1975	294	658	2.2
1976	278	714	2.6
1977	274	729	2.7
1978	257	670	2.6
1979	230	691	3.0
1980	246	904	3.7
1981	238	981	4.1
1982	247	1,343	5.5
1983	276	1,774	6.4
1984	274	1,698	6.2

#### Vegetables

Vegetables are among the crops that are important for the nutrition of all of the people's classes and an important raw material for a number of the country's preserves plants. Vegetable production generally has increased as a result of the two main factors determining the increase in production, namely the increase in the acreage cultivated and the increase in productivity.

Chart No 6 demonstrates the development in the acreage cultivated with vegetables in 1963 and in the 1970-84 period.

Chart No 6. Development in Acreage Cultivated With Vegetables in 1963 and in 1970-84 Period.

Year	Acreage (in 1,000 Hectares)	Production (in 1,000 Tons)	Productivity (in Tons per Hectare)
1963	160	909	5.7
1970	115	791	6.9
1971	129	1,106	8.6
1972	159	1,542	9.7
1973	128	1,011	7.9
1974	201	1,971	9.8
1975	200	2,245	11.2
1976	229	2,316	10.1
1977	249	2,593	10.4
1978	255	2,701	10.6
1979	233	2,512	10.8
1980	283	3,401	12.0
1981	301	3,837	12.7
1982	295	3,717	12.6
1983	295	3,589	12.16
1984	244	2,843	11.7

This chart makes it clear that the acreage cultivated with vegetables increased by nearly 53 percent between 1963 and 1984 whereas production rose by nearly 212 percent during the same period because productivity rose by nearly 105 percent between the 2 said years, keeping in mind that the 1984 crop was poor because of bad weather conditions. The annual production in the 1980-83 was higher than in 1984, achieving in 1981 an increase of 322 percent over 1963. The same applies to 1982 and 1983.

#### Fruit Trees

The production of fruit trees achieved a big increase as a result of the increase in the acreage cultivated with fruit trees and of the increase in the number of fruit trees reaching fruition as well as the increase in the total number of trees and of the increase in the productivity per tree, which

was achieved by improved care of the trees and by using fertilizers and other production requirements.

Chart No 7 shows the acreage cultivated, the number of trees of fruit-bearing age, production and the productivity of fruit-bearing trees in 1963 and the 1970-84 period.

Chart No 7. Development in Number, Production and Productivity of Fruit Trees in 1963 and in 1970-84 Period.

Year	Acreage (in 1,000 Hectares)	Number of Trees (in 1,000)	Production (in 1,000 Tons)	Productivity (in Kilograms per Tree)
1963	241	71,751	369	5.1
1970	259	70,847	435	6.1
1971	260	72,510	523	7.2
1972	291	72,201	592	8.2
1973	328	77,984	414	5.3
1974	345	83,865	683	8.1
1975	351	86,879	702	8.1
1976	412	94,209	841	8.9
1977	427	95,815	830	8.6
1978	439	96,606	978	10.1
1979	456	93,461	845	9.0
1980	479	97,864	1,163	11.9
1981	497	100,276	1,069	10.4
1982	512	103,429	1,453	14.1
1983	525	107,223	1,121	10.5
1984	545	110,929	1,361	12.3

The chart shows that cultivated acreage rose by nearly 126 percent whereas production rose by nearly 277 percent between 1963 and 1984 as a result of the increase of nearly 141 percent in productivity and the increase of nearly 54 percent in the number of fruit-bearing trees within the same period.

## Livestock Production

The livestock production is embodied in the number of producing farm animals such as sheep, goats, cattle and chickens and their milk, meat and egg production.

Chart No 8 demonstrates the development in the number of farm animals in 1963 and in the 1970-84 period.

Chart No 8. Development in Numbers of Farm Animals in 1963-70 and in 1970-84 Period. (Unit: 1,000 Head)

Year	Cattle	Sheep	Goats	Chickens
1963	449	4,297	581	3,726
1970	528	6,046	774	3,669
1971	507	5,455	741	4,785
1972	488	5,166	697	5,162
1973	494	4,840	608	4,614
1974	524	5,295	684	5,401
1975	557	5,809	814	8,572
1976	574	6,490	956	5,897
1977	639	7,070	1,010	6,645
1978	695	7,236	1,065	12,613
1979	760	8,129	999	16,069
1980	768	9,301	1,025	13,849
1981	807	10,504	1,060	13,965
1982	791	11,403	1,150	15,405
1983	767	13,360	1,157	14,616
1984	739	12,751	1,063	15,213

This chart shows that in 1984, the number of sheep rose by nearly 197 percent, of goats by 82 percent, of cattle by 65 percent and of chickens by 307 percent in comparison with 1963.



There is no doubt that the increase in the number of farm animals, particularly of sheep, requires a supply of fodder, especially when we learn that the Syrian semi-desert can sustain only 5-6 million head of sheep whereas the current number is 12 million head, in addition to the country's other kinds of livestock which are increasing in number. This fodder must be supplied for fear of another dry season in the semi-desert similar to the 1984 season which caused big losses to the country's sheep breeders.

#### Livestock Production

With the increased health and dietary awareness of the people, there has been an increased demand for foodstuffs from livestock sources, such as meat, milk and milk derivatives. As a result of the increase in the numbers of farm animals and of the increased veterinary and feeding care given to these animals, livestock production has increased. Chart No 9 shows the development of livestock production in 1963 and in the 1970-84 period. This chart shows that there has been an increase in all kinds of livestock products in the period from 1963 to 1984, with the increase in milk estimated at nearly 86 percent, in wool at 98 percent and in eggs at 433 percent. As for red meats--mutton, goat meat and beef--the production rose by nearly 156 percent from 1976 to 1984, with production amounting to 64,000 tons in 1976. As for white meats--poultry meats--their production rose in 1984 by nearly 490 percent over 1976. The year 1976 is used as a base for comparison due to the lack of statistics on meat production prior to this year.

Chart No 9. Development in Livestock Products in 1963 and in 1970-84 Period.

Year	Milk Production (in Tons)	Egg Production (in 1,000)	Red Meat Production (in Tons)	White Meat Production (in Tons)
1963	539,000	286,000	-	-
1970	450,154	274,116	-	-
1971	441,413	301,801	-	-
1972	458,375	322,786	-	-
1973	393,469	369,517	-	-
1974	500,112	404,817	-	-
1975	566,757	655,663	-	-
1976	665,269	699,877	63,674	13,780
1977	646,551	707,040	76,671	17,018
1978	792,321	996,620	82,813	25,211
1979	839,043	1,247,182	105,443	35,492

Chart No 9 Continued

Year	Milk Production (in Tons)	Egg Production (in 1,000)	Red Meat Production (in Tons)	White Meat Production (in Tons)
1980	907,715	1,353,802	114,196	40,749
1981	1,097,411	1,545,645	122,600	66,966
1982	1,132,210	1,684,040	139,572	71,963
1983	1,161,033	1,727,374	153,685	75,035
1984	1,003,206	1,525,766	163,831	81,318

From the above, it is evident that there has been considerable development in the agricultural sector and in the big efforts exerted by the state to achieve agricultural growth. These efforts have focused on horizontal agricultural expansion through the reclamation of new lands and the construction of irrigation projects to transform dry-farm lands into irrigated lands. The Euphrates Dam is perhaps one of the most significant examples of these efforts.

The state has also sought to achieve vertical agricultural expansion by increasing the productivity of most crops and securing the requirements of production.

There is no doubt that it is necessary to exert further efforts to develop our agricultural sector in order that it may meet the requirements of growth, meet the country's food and non-food needs to achieve self-sufficiency and secure a surplus for exportation.

8494

CSO: 4404/325

SYRIA

## ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH SYRIA REVIEWED

Sofia IKONOMICHESKI ZHIVOT in Bulgarian 1 May 1985 p 8

[Article by Dimitur Khadzhinikolov: "Long-Term And Mutually Beneficial Cooperation"]

[Text] Trade and economic relations between Bulgaria and Syria have been developing steadily for more than three decades. They are built upon a solid contractual and legal foundation which includes a trade agreement, an agreement to develop economic, scientific and technological cooperation, a protocol which provides general directions for the creation of joint ventures and a series of other intergovernmental agreements. The joint Bulgaro-Syrian committee for economic, scientific and technological cooperation plays an important role in the realization of mutual ties. Of utmost importance in the development of Bulgaro-Syrian relations were the meetings and discussions of our first party and state leaders during the visits of Comrade Todor Zhivkov to Syria in 1972 and 1980 and of President Hafez Hassad to Bulgaria in 1974 and 1981.

Counter trade between Bulgaria and Syria has shown constant growth and reached 32 million leva in 1983. Our country exports to Syria lathes, drills, steel, calcinated soda, nitrogen fertilizers, various types of foodstuffs, and imports mainly cotton, phosphates and some other types of raw materials. During recent years, Bulgarian export of complete installations to Syria has increased: geological prospecting, designing and other engineering services for production purposes.

Mutual ties are developing successfully in a number of economic areas. For example, in the mining industry, Bulgargeomin and some of our other enterprises render aid to Syria by working large beds of phosphates and natural gas. Near Dzhibisa our specialists are participating with their Syrian colleagues and specialists from the USSR in prospecting and exploiting extensive strata of gas. Cooperation in this field will ensure not only the necessary supplies of raw materials for the development of the energy and chemical industries in Syria, but also expansion of the country's export potential, which will reflect favorably on trade and economic ties between Bulgaria and Syria.

Cooperation in the field of agriculture has been particularly successful and perspective. Our specialists have made their contribution to the construction of a number of dams, irrigation systems and agroindustrial complexes in Syria.

It is a well-known fact that "Agrokomplekt" fulfils its contractual obligations to the letter. Under the terms of the protocol for the development of agricultural ties, which was signed in February 1983, a joint production venture will be established.

Other areas which present opportunities for the development of economic cooperation between Bulgaria and Syria include the food and tobacco industry and light industry. A number of projects have been constructed with the participation of specialists from the People's Republic of Bulgaria and using Bulgarian machinery and equipment. These include silos and wine cellars in Sueda and Homs, refrigerated warehouses, companies for the fermentation of tobacco and other goods, which are intended not only to satisfy the internal market but also to expand the country's export list. It must be stressed that the successful development of the Syrian food and tobacco industry and light industry have also created the opportunity to expand the import of a number of finished goods manufactured in Syria.

Joint efforts are underway in the energy field to build new substations, traffic signals and power lines in Syria. Bulgaria is supplying installations and specialists for the construction of a factory for electric motors in Syria and, in cooperation with companies from other socialist countries, for the construction of three cement factories.

Scientific and technological cooperation plays an important role in the system of trade and economic ties between Bulgaria and Syria. Bulgarian specialists are working in fields, factories and hospitals in Syria, they are aiding in the construction of civil and agricultural projects, in the all-round development of entire regions and in the exploitation of natural resources. At the same time, many young Syrian men and women are being trained in our country. Bulgarian students are studying in Syria and our teachers and specialists are being sent to become acquainted with the rich ancient culture of the Syrian people.

The ninth regular session of the joint Bulgaro-Syrian committee for economic, scientific and technological cooperation was held last September in Sofia. These sessions provide a regular stimulus for bilateral relations. It can be said that the measures outlined were conducive to the expansion and intensification of economic ties in the perspective areas of both countries, and to the use of new and modern forms of cooperation. All this provided a positive reflection on the structure of counter-trade and created the prerequisites for the further development of mutually beneficial relationships.

An exceptionally important moment in the future development of economic cooperation was the official friendly visit to Syria of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov. The visit took place at the end of April at the invitation of the General Secretary of the Arab Baath Socialist Party Baas and the President of the Syrian Arab Republic Hafez Assad.

The meetings and conversations between the two first party and state leaders, which have become a solid tradition, have always been exceptionally fruitful. And so it was this time. The way in which joint efforts had achieved the expansion and intensification of economic ties was particularly valued. With this in mind, and taking into consideration the fact that the opportunities have not been exhausted, the two leaders outlined the directions of future development. New and wider horizons have been revealed for fruitful Bulgaro-Syrian economic, scientific and technological cooperation and for the enrichment of bilateral reciprocity.

12907

CSO: 2200/149



SYRIA

## EFFORTS INCREASED IN IRRIGATION DAM CONSTRUCTION

Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 28 Mar 85 p 4

[Article by Naji As'ad: "Implementational Procedures to Speed Up Studies of al-Ghab Development Project. Muhradah Land Reclamation Center Conducts Studies For a Number of New Dams"]

[Text] Last year an order was issued by the prime minister's office for the transfer of all workers in irrigation and conservation from the Muhradah Center, which formerly was under "Great Projects," to the General Organization for the Administration, Use and Organization of al-Ghab, which is under the Ministry of Agriculture. The purpose was to give this organization the status planned for it in the area of conservation and land use for the Tar al-'Ala al-'Asharinah and al-Ghab projects. After that was carried out, the Muhradah Center was reorganized under the Directorate of Land Reclamation in the Ministry of Irrigation so that the rest of the workers and engineers in the center could continue the studies necessary for the development of the Tar al-'Ala al-'Asharinah and al-Ghab projects, the al-Ruj project and other projects that the center could carry out in the areas of irrigation, drainage and the erection of dams in the area, in addition to the task of preserving the Muhradah dam. Before we examine all the large and small projects the continuation of which is a task that has been entrusted to this center, we will turn to the most important project in this region, the al-Ghab Development Project, which has not been successfully implemented even after more than 7 years of efforts. What is the development project and how does it present itself after the years of utilization following the drainage project.

### The Basic Project

Before the drainage project, agricultural production in al-Ghab was low and irregular because of the flooding in the winter and the scarcity of water in the summer. The swampy areas covered approximately 80 percent of al-Ghab and 10 percent of the lands in al-'Asharinah. In the fifties 29,000 hectares of land consisting of reed swamp were drained. After the drainage, the total cultivable surface area in al-Ghab plain and al-'Asharinah plain was approximately 72,000 hectares.

To initiate land use, a system of drainage ditches and a network of canals were constructed to assure the water necessary for irrigation, in addition to

a network of asphalt and agricultural roads to assure the transport of crops and facilitate transport between the different areas of the project and the neighboring areas. In 1953, work started on a project to drain the swamps by breaking the basalt obstruction in the bend in the valley in the area of al-Kafir, which presented a natural obstacle to the waters of the 'Asi. This was followed by projects to drain the land by digging main and ancillary drainage canals, and the establishment of the required irrigation networks along with industrial projects associated with them. After that came the construction of the al-Rastan reservoir dam, with a capacity of 225 million cubic meters, the Muhradah dam to moderate the flooding peaks in al-Ghab district, with a capacity of 50 million cubic meters and the al-"Asharinah irrigation canal, which is to be used to water the area that has been drained.

After the start of land use, numerous problems hampered the farmers of al-Ghab and scattered efforts were not successful in overcoming these obstacles. The appropriate authorities had no choice but to start to reconsider the project in order to spare the farmers the obstacles that were hampering them, and the new project was called the "al-Ghab Development Project." Although this project, after 7 years, is still in the planning stages, it aims to remove the obstacles that hamper agricultural life in al-Ghab and to raise the level of intensity of agriculture by 45 to 150 percent after examining the agricultural possibilities of harvesting cotton, white beets, maize and vegetables. The development project aims especially to solve the following problems:

#### Drainage Problem

The planning of the al-Ghab project with regard to irrigation and drainage presumed land cultivation in the summer seasons only. You therefore find lands exposed to winter flooding with a rise in the water table in a way that makes the land unsuitable for winter and autumn use, although the rise in the water table makes cultivation even in the summer unsuccessful. Up to 10,000 hectares are flooded in the winter in some years. Technicians at the Muhradah Land Reclamation Center state that the flooding is due primarily to the fact that the primary drainage ditch in al-Ghab cannot accommodate the flows that hit the area when combined with the external flows that reach the al-Ghab plain from the northwestern areas. This situation means that the yearly waters from the drainage ditch do not flow off, but rather pour into the main drainage ditch, so that its waters flood the lands, which results in damage to farms, an increase in the salination level in the soil, the preclusion of agricultural use in the winter in many areas, or a reduction in productivity if they are cultivated, in addition to a delay of summer cultivation there.

#### Irrigation Canals

The irrigation canals are not in a better situation than the drainage canals. The farmers take a lot of pains with these canals because their drainage capacity falls short of their projected capacity because they are not able to accommodate the quantity of water specified for each canal. In

addition, some lands are higher than the level of the tertiary irrigation canals, which makes it impossible to use the water flowing down these canals.

Because of this situation, farmers dig earth canals in the fields in those sections and lands that are very permeable, which results in a rise in the water table in the earth and makes it difficult to irrigate easily.

Although all these problems also contribute to an increase in the salination level in the earth, what threatens cultivation there is the reduction in productivity.

#### In Muhradah Center

In the Muhradah Center, which is now under the Directorate for Land Reclamation of the Ministry of Irrigation, we met Eng Fayiz 'Ashur, director of the center, who explained the latest conceptions for the development project, the studies of which are now being conducted by Syrian cadres now that the project has been withdrawn from the group of French companies, 7 years after the study project was contracted to these companies. Eng 'Ashur said of the center, "The new procedures that were adopted by attaching the center to the Directorate for Land Reclamation were the result of the prime minister's decree in 1984 ordering that those working in the area of irrigation and conservation be transferred to the General Organization for al-Ghab Land Use, which is part of the Ministry of Agriculture. The goal is to give this organization the role that had been planned for it in the area of conservation and land use for the two projects of Tar al-'Ala al-'Asharinah - al-Ghab. After this took place, the center was entrusted with a number of tasks, most importantly the continuation of the studies for the Tar al-'Ala al-'Asharinah - al-Ghab project as well as al-Ruj project and other projects that this center can undertake in the areas of irrigation, drainage and the construction of dams in the area, in addition to the task of conserving the Muhradah Dam.

#### The Development Project

The goal of the development project is to increase agricultural production in al-Ghab and in Tar al-'Ala al-'Asharinah by eliminating salination, improving drainage, increasing the water reserve for irrigation so the level of agricultural intensity is at 150 percent of production by using all available water sources in the region that can be used for irrigation and that go to the sea without being used. The amount of ground water is estimated to be about 600 million cubic meters of water that is renewed annually, in addition to the water from streams and rains.

#### At the Level of Implementation

The first fruits of the implementation projects were in the context of a series of small projects within the development project, and they were the studies and the contracting of the Abu Ba'rah Dam to the company that was

working on the irrigation installations, which really did complete the dam in the last quarter of last year at an estimated cost of approximately 40 million Syrian pounds. The dam is in the Misyaf region, and is supposed to capture the water from rainy years to prevent flooding in the region. The water stored at the dam is to be used for irrigation purposes. The dam's storage capacity is approximately 7 million cubic meters, making it the smallest of the significant dams in the al-Ghab Development Project. It is considered the first fruits in the project, whose implementation period is 24 months. It will water new lands in the region in addition to replenishing the ground water.

#### Salhab Dam

Salhab dam is in the second rank of the significant dams in the development project. Studies and geological investigations have now been completed for the placement of the dam and a study on the body of the dam has been made. Execution is expected to take place this year. Storage capacity for this project is 20 million cubic meters and the estimated cost is more than 100 million Syrian pounds. The purpose of the dam is to prevent flooding in rainy years in al-Ghab project and provide water to new dry areas near Tail Salhab and Tar al-'Ala al-'Asharinah.

#### Afamiya Dam

Afamiya Dam is near Qal'at al-Madiq and is considered the first of its kind in the area. Its storage capacity is between 70 to 85 million cubic meters of water and is notable for its advanced construction, relying on water pumped from the springs at "Ayn al-Taqah and Qal-at al-Madiq, which are considered the underground source for the water that is wasted and in the winter goes to the ocean at an average rate of 5 cubic meters per second. Pumping will be done in the winter and after the irrigation season to store the water behind the body of the dam, which will be built in a wide valley that is much higher than the level of cultivable land in al-Ghab. At the beginning of the irrigation season, this water will be returned for use in irrigation and even for generating electric power equivalent to the electric power consumed in pumping. Studies for the project are being conducted by the General Company for Water Studies, and the study is expected to be completed in 1986, to be contracted eventually to the companies that will execute the project. In addition to storing water for reclaimed lands, this dam will also add to the touristic attractiveness of the archeological region in Afamiya through the artificial lake formed by the dam in two valleys located near the Afamiya ruins.

#### Qastun Dam

The Qastun Dam is located in the northeast region of al-Ghab, and its storage capacity is 35 million cubic meters. The dam will be equipped to pump water from the main Drainage Ditch A in al-Ghab district in the winter and store it at the dam for use in the irrigation season. The administration has determined the location of this dam, and has started to take preliminary steps to conduct geological studies of the dam site.

Technicians at the center have also studied sites appropriate to the construction of a dam on the course of the al-Sarut River in the Misyaf area, especially in the high mountain regions in order to store rain water carried by the river. This project is also considered one of the ancillary projects in the development project.

#### Completed Studies

With regard to the studies completed for the development project, the administration proceeded to cancel the contract with the group of French companies because they failed to present the implementation plans for that project and it gave the contract for that study to the General Company for Water Studies. Up until now, this company has worked on evaluating the previous studies, and after that it will work on completing the studies necessary for implementation.

The studies for al-Ghab Development Project aim to increase water reserves in order to allow farmers in this region to rely principally on their own water sources in this region and to irrigate by complete use of the ground water capacity available in the region. This will provide more opportunities to use the water stored in al-Rustun Dam to irrigate new land that is in greater need of water.

12727

CSO: 4404/342



YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

AGRICULTURE MINISTRY REPLIES TO NEWSPAPER ON PROBLEMS

Sanaa AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM in Arabic 25 Mar 85 pp 3-4

[Article: "The Ministry of Agriculture Responds to AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM]

[Text] The Editor-in-Chief of AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM

Dear Sir:

An article entitled "Where to, the Ministry of Agriculture" and so on was published in issue number 130 of your newspaper. We are responding to this article because we do not wish to see this newspaper forfeit the confidence readers have in it, especially those readers who are informed about the agricultural sector's current conditions. Those readers know about the efforts that are being made and the services that are being offered by the Ministry of Agriculture. They also know about the problems and obstacles the state is facing in its efforts to bring about growth and development in that sector.

The article dealt with three principal points. The first had to do with the declining productivity of some grain crops. The second had to do with the weakness of the present organizational structure of the Ministry of Agriculture and its inability to keep up with development and with the ministry's expanding functions. The third point dealt with observations made by the Central Planning Agency on some of the Ministry of Agriculture's projects and on fish resources.

We will try to clarify these three points briefly, and we will try to set forth the truth.

First, regarding the declining productivity of some grain crops between 1982 and 1984: We would like to make it clear at the outset that there is no disagreement over the figures mentioned by the newspaper. However, the newspaper seems to have taken those figures out of context. It did not take the trouble to inquire what was the reason for this decline so as to make it clear to an informed reader what the reasons for this decline were. Was the decline in productivity due to the failure of the Ministry of Agriculture, or was it due to reasons beyond the ministry's control? Actually, the reasons for this decline are as follows:

1. Most, if not all, of the areas where some of the grain crops are planted depend principally on rainfall.
2. Many countries, including ours, have been suffering from drought conditions.

This drought existed during the period for which data were reported in the newspaper article. Consequently, this drought caused a decline in the productivity of each unit of cultivated land. Besides, many farmers have refrained from planting some crops that need relatively more water than other grain crops, like maize. Also, the rain did not come at the right times.

2. The glorious 26th of September Revolution created alternatives to employment opportunities in farming, and that led to extensive internal migration from rural to urban areas. Besides, people immigrated from the country. This migration and immigration thus affected agricultural work and the cost of production for agricultural crops, and that led to [the following]:

A. Production costs rose and, consequently, net returns per unit of cultivated land fell.

B. Production of some crops, especially grain crops, became uneconomical, and that caused many farmers to refrain from planting grain crops.

C. As a result of the high cost of labor, grain-producing farmers were not interested in a variety of agricultural operations and that, in turn, led to a decline in productivity per unit of land.

D. Instead of planting grain crops and coffee, many farmers planted al-Qat [Catha edulis] because of its lucrative returns.

Second, regarding the ministry's organizational structure and its inability to keep up with development and the expansion of the ministry's functions:

We agree with you that the present structure of the ministry can no longer handle the ministry's functions properly. The ministry has become aware of this matter. Therefore, a draft of the changes that have to be made in the ministry's organizational structure has been prepared, and the ministry's organizational structure has been changed in a manner that is consistent with new variables and with the tasks that the ministry must carry out. That proposed structure has been presented to the Council of Ministers where it was discussed and where it underwent the necessary amendments and was eventually approved at the council's 1/19/1985 meeting. It will then be presented to the Constituent People's Assembly which, we hope, will finish debating it as soon as possible. After that, it will be sent to the president and commander-in-chief, Col 'Abdallah Salih for his approval.

Third, the Central Planning Agency's observations on some of the Ministry of Agriculture's projects and on fish resources:

A detailed and documented response to the observations of the Central Planning Agency has been prepared. We will try to summarize here the most important of points of this response to the aforementioned observations.

First, the Agricultural Statistics Project:

The first part of the agency's observation on the statistics project stated that the survey was not comprehensive and that only a sample had been surveyed. The second part of the observation mentioned that the project did not achieve the

objectives that had been set for it in the plan. In this regard we wish to make the following clear:

1. The project's achievements were not inconsequential. A sample survey and agricultural census for all the country's governorates was completed for the first time. The results were very good. Evidence for this lies in the fact that a select group from the ministry and from the Central Planning Agency met on 6/23/1981 to discuss these figures which were approved and then entered into the country's national calculations.

2. Conducting a survey by sample was the result of:

A. A lack of personnel to conduct the survey.

B. The small amount of funds appropriated for that survey, even though the ministry did draw up the necessary budget.

C. The Central Planning Agency insisted that the agricultural census be conducted on a sample because of the financial and technical benefits of such an approach. In addition, conducting a survey by sample would give a better picture of the agricultural sector because a comprehensive survey of farmers, who make up more than two thirds of the population, would, under Yemen's conditions, take a long time before results can be obtained. Consequently, the information collected from the survey would become obsolete by the time the data are classified and analyzed and information derived therefrom.

D. The agricultural census comes under the jurisdiction of the Central Planning Agency, not that of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fish Resources. But the ministry did take action in this regard and requested prompt implementation. We had hoped that the process would have been assigned to the ministry and that adequate appropriations would have been earmarked for it and necessary professionals assigned to it as well. In fact, we did try to make that happen, and the ministry followed up on the memoranda that were sent to the prime minister. Then it took up the matter with the agency, but to no avail. That caused us to conduct the surveys and the agricultural census until the entire process was completed in all the governorates.

E. A comprehensive agricultural survey of vegetables in the country was included in our 1984 plan, but the Central Planning Agency did not approve the appropriations we had requested. In fact, the agency insisted that the requested appropriations be compared to 1983 appropriations and reduced by 25 percent.

F. Let us reiterate our demand that the comprehensive agricultural census be completed promptly. We are prepared to work with concerned agencies, and we hope this will be done during the current year.

Second, the Agricultural Guidance Project:

Preparations for the agricultural program on radio and television are done primarily by fellow citizens in television and radio stations. Overseeing the programs and facilitating transportation for the advance and photography team to the various areas of the country is the only role of the project.

Accordingly, this is not the project's principal function. However, during the past period of the second 5-year plan, the project completed many basic functions in accordance with the objectives set for it in the second 5-year plan. These were recorded in detail in our annual reports.

To confirm the foregoing we mention the most important of these achievements very briefly.

1. Eight guidance centers were built in the governorates of al-Bayda', Sanaa, Dhamar and Ma'rib.
2. Three 1-year training courses were offered: two in Ta'izz and one in Sanaa. Over 87 agricultural guides completed these courses and were then placed in agricultural centers in the country's various governorates.
3. Guidance and demonstration fields were set up to train farmers in modern production methods. These were set up only at guidance centers located within the sphere of the project. The number of these guidance fields exceeded 130.
4. A field study was conducted on the guidance agency and on the most important obstacles to guidance.
5. With the cooperation of the veterinary project and through the agricultural guidance centers located within the sphere of the project only vaccination services were offered to animals: 22,898 heads of cattle, sheep and goats were vaccinated against disease, and animals that needed treatment were treated.
6. Eleven instructive manuals about grain, vegetable and fruit crops were prepared and printed. Manuals about animal diseases were also printed. These publications were printed by the Morale Guidance Press.

### Third, the Agricultural Automation Project

The objectives of the project were summarized in the following:

- A. Conducting research and making changes in agricultural machinery for the purpose of finding machinery that is suitable to Yemeni conditions and coming out with the necessary recommendations.
- B. Training ministry personnel as well as farmers to use and maintain agricultural machines.
- C. Providing guidance in the area of automation. It is to be mentioned that the agency, the ministry and the financing agency have evaluated the project several times, and the results of the evaluation were satisfactory. The ministry tried to keep the project from being extended for another term because there were variables that required making changes in the objectives of the idea for the project. The ministry tried to merge the project's research component with the Research Organization, and that was done on the basis of the law that established the organization.



Through its various projects the ministry is trying to concentrate on training and guidance. In addition, the ministry began trying to set up units for leasing various agricultural equipment in different areas and showing farmers how these machines can be used and maintained. In addition, the observation [made by the newspaper] makes no sense.

#### Fourth, the Horticultural Project

The agency's observations mentioned that production at nurseries was unplanned and that it had also declined. To prove that that is not true, we mention the following schedule:

The Item

The Years of the Plan

1981/1982

1982/1983

1983/1984

1984/1985

#### The New Revised Figure in the Second 5-Year Plan

185,000 [in] 81/82

235,000 [in] 82/83

320,000 [in] 83/84

360,000 [in] 84/85

#### Actual Production

154	175	81/82
-----	-----	-------

189	452	82/83
-----	-----	-------

197	550	83/84
-----	-----	-------

...	1,900	84/85
-----	-------	-------

#### Completion Rate

95 percent	81/82
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192.82 percent	82/83
----------------	-------

171.93 percent	83/84
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555 percent	84/85
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If what is intended here are production plans for each nursery, we are attaching to this report a copy of the production plan for each nursery and for each kind of seedling (Tables number 6,7 and 8). [Translator's note: tables were not included.]

#### Fifth, the Coffee Project

The observations mentioned that the Coffee Development Project was unable to distribute seedlings of the coffee plant and that coffee production was inadequate.

To prove that the above observation is not true, one may refer to the following table:



Item		Years
What was planned in the		second 5-Year Plan
Actual Production		
Distribution		

	82	81/82
...	170	82/83
...	227	83/84
...	228	84/85
	83	
...	290	
...	371	
...	352	
	84	
...	430	
...	485	
...	388	

This table shows the number of seedlings whose production is being planned or the number that has actually been produced. The table clearly shows that production of seedlings and the number of seedlings distributed increased. It will be noticed that in 1982 all the seedlings that were produced were distributed, but in 1983/1984, because of the scarce rainfall, some were not. Farmers were thus not anxious to plant coffee, and this is considered normal under such climate conditions when coffee farmers rely totally on the rainfall.

#### Sixth, the Forests Project

With regard to what was mentioned in observations made about the project for timber forests, [we would like to mention the following]:

First, we would like to call attention to the following information which was mentioned in reports sent to the Central Planning Agency. These reports have to do with the number and varieties of seedlings produced.

1. Average annual production of timber trees: 500,000 seedlings.
2. There were 34 varieties. See the number in attachment number 9.
3. There are 11 nurseries scattered throughout the country.

Second, with regard to overemployment in the Forestry Department and in the Bayr al-Quhum nursery, we wish to make the following clear:

1. There are two engineers, three drivers and a clerk employed at the department.
2. There are only 10 workers in the Bayr al-Quhum nursery, which is located on 2 hectares of land. Those workers also take care of the trees in forestation areas that are subordinate to the ministry.

#### Seventh, the Public Organization for the Development of Fish Resources

We wish to emphasize that the observation made about the projects of the Fisheries Organization are inconsistent with the Central Planning Agency's previous reports to the 5-Year Plan Follow-up Committee. The organization submits its reports, and these reports are discussed on schedule.

#### **Eighth, Projects for Developing Animal Resources**

1. The inability of the poultry farming training project to achieve its objectives: This project is being conducted according to a plan of action agreed to by the Yemenis and the Americans. The plan includes conducting three training courses, each 19 weeks long, and 4 short courses. Besides, it also includes the annual distribution of 7,600 laying chickens to farmers in various villages.

2. Al-Jarayih Cattle Farm: This farm has had a serious problem ever since it began production: the wells that were dug and designated for irrigating the land that would produce the required feed for the cattle became inoperable. Discussions about how this problem may be solved lasted a long time. These were discussions between the Kuwaiti drilling company, which drilled the wells; the German consulting firm, which was overseeing the project; the authorized engineers, who are employed by the Tuhamah Development Organization; and the Kuwaiti Fund, which funded the project. It was decided that new wells were to be drilled, and drilling operations began only a few months ago. After that, an integrated economic technical plan was drawn up for utilizing the land that is available at the farm. In addition, the farm still needs some machinery and mechanical equipment which are necessary for production operations. Sufficient liquidity should also be made available so that the herd can be completed.

It should be mentioned that farm operations now are satisfactory. Production capacity rose from 3,000 heads to 8,631 heads of sheep and 129 heads of calves. The director general of follow-up activities in the agency, Mr Muhammad Qiflah visited the farm last year.

#### **3. The Yarim Dairy Farm**

Although providing the area of land necessary for this farm was not possible, the Yarim Dairy farm was the leading producer of dairy products in the country. For the first time in the country's history it provided local markets with fresh, wholesomely packaged dairy products. It is worth noting that the farm failed to obtain the appropriations that were necessary to purchase the feed required for the herd. After strenuous efforts were made, the farm managed to purchase 400 tons of feed during the last months of last year.

That was the minimum that was required.

4. Production of beef and poultry: Despite the major step that was taken in the poultry production sector and despite extensive expansion in that sector, existing farms are threatened with being shut down because their owners cannot obtain a single letter of credit to purchase the feed that is necessary for those farms. This is the principal reason why investors have not ventured into beef production projects; it is the principal reason why they have not expanded poultry projects. And that is why cattle is continuously being smuggled into the country across the western shores, bringing contagious diseases that threaten our own animal resources. Fighting these contagious diseases costs a great deal of money.

5. The relationship between the veterinary services project and related projects: This trailblazing project provides treatment, vaccines, some equipment and cars to all projects that are engaged in providing veterinary care--the Tuhamah and Southern Highlands Development Organization and others. Also all personnel involved in the ministry's various veterinary projects, including slaughterhouse technicians, were trained and qualified at the Veterinary Training Center in the Veterinary Services Project in Sanaa. These slaughterhouses were turned over to the municipalities.

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CSO: 4404/332

YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

ORGANIZATION BEGUN TO SET UP SOCIETY OF ULEMA

Sanaa AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM in Arabic 25 Mar 85 p 1

[Article: "A Constituent Organization for the Society of Yemeni Ulema"]

[Text] Presidential Decree No 5 for 1984 has been issued establishing a constituent assembly for the Society of Yemeni Ulema. This is the text of the decree:

The President of the Republic:

After examining the permanent constitution;

And the Constitutional Proclamation of February 6, 1978, organizing the Constituent People's Assembly, and the Constitutional Proclamation of April 17, 1978 which amended it;

And after examining the Constitutional Proclamation of April 22, 1978, putting into effect the decree issued by the Constituent People's Assembly defining the mode, authorities and term of the president;

And after examining the Constitutional Proclamation of May 8, 1979 amending some of the provisions of the previous Constitutional Proclamations regarding the People's Assembly, increasing the number of its members and expanding its powers. Whereas democracy and consultation constitute ideal choices for our people, which they have accepted as the foundation of government as well as the basis for relationships between the people, their leaders and their various constitutional institutions and popular organizations;

To give concrete form to the objectives of the National Charter and maintain harmonious interactions among the Yemeni people, as manifested in their eagerness to exercise their rights and carry out their duties through the establishment of a large number of popular organizations;

And because political leaders want to do everything possible to enable ulema, who are the prophet's heirs, to carry out their duties and perform their missions for the state and society and fulfill the pledge they made to Almighty God in accordance with the requirements of the public interest;

It has been decided:

Article 1: A constituent organization of scientists whose names are mentioned in this decree is to be established. Its function is to make preparations for the establishment of a society for Yemeni ulema whose objectives are as follows:

A. To give those in power advice about what the True Islamic religion requires of ulema in their capacity as the prophet's heirs who have to give true advice for the sake of God for the purpose of safeguarding and achieving that which serves the nation's and the country's public interest, particularly with regard to the following matters:

1. The role played by official agencies who command people to do good deeds and forbid them to do evil. The society is to make comments that would help these agencies carry out their duties and adhere to the provisions of Almighty God in calling for His commands to be adhered to and His interdictions observed with wisdom and sound counsel.
2. The public interests of society and any negative phenomena that are incompatible with the objectives of the revolution and the foundations and principles of the National Charter, which are derived from tolerant Islam. The society is to propose successful solutions for dealing with these phenomena.
3. It is to publish the books of Yemen's heritage.

B. To express an opinion on matters when asked to do so.

Article 2: The Constituent Assembly of the Society of Yemeni ulema is to be made up of the following citizens whose names follow:

1. Husayn Ahmad al-Siyaghi
2. Muhammad Isma'il al-Hajji
3. 'Abd-al-Qadir ibn 'Abdallah
4. Muhammad Isma'il al-'Umrani
5. Ahmad Muhammad al-Jubi
6. Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Mansur
7. 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Wahab al-Shimahi
8. Ahmad Ahmad Salamah
9. Hamud 'Abbas al-Mu'ayyad
10. 'Ali ibn 'Ali al-Saman
11. Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahman Mahbub



12. Muhammad Lutf al-Sabahi
13. Ahmad Muhammad al-Akwa'
14. Asad Hamzah
15. 'Abd-al-Rahman Makram
16. Nasir Ahmad al-Shiybani
17. Muhammad al-Sarmi
18. 'Umar Ahmad Sayf
19. Muhammad Hasan al-Hadar
20. 'Abdallah Sharid
21. 'Abd-al-Majid al-Zandani
22. Muhsin Qasim Hamid
23. Muqbil Hadi al-Wadi'i
24. Muhammad al-'Aqili
25. Yasin 'Abd-al-'Aziz Qabati
26. 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Hadarmi
27. Muhammad Isma'il al-Rabi'
28. Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Muta'
29. Ahmad 'Abd-al-Wasi' al-Wasi'i
30. Yahya Latif al-Fasil
31. 'Abdallah al-Sa'di
32. Isma'il ibn 'Ali al-Akwa'
33. Sa'id Muhsin Nashir

Article 3: The members of the Constituent Organization are to elect from their midst a president, a vice president, a secretary general and a treasurer. It is also to write the organization's bylaws which are to regulate its activities and meetings.

Article 4: The Constituent Organization of the Society of Yemeni Ulema is to undertake the following tasks for the purpose of making preparations to establish the society.

A. It is to draft a charter for the Society of Yemeni Ulema according to the society's set objectives.

B. It is to draw up the conditions that must be met by members of the society and determine the characteristics that scientists must have as well as the conditions they must meet.

C. It is to draw up a list of ulema and scrutinize those who have the characteristics and meet the conditions [that have been set]. It is to prepare a list of all the ulema who are nominated by the organization for membership in the General Assembly in light of what was mentioned in the previous section of this article.

This list is to be presented to the president for his approval, and the president will issue a decree forming the general assembly.

The president will also decide upon the manner in which the society's bylaws are to be approved.

Article 5: The final version of the society's bylaws will be issued by presidential decree.

Article 6: This decree becomes effective on the day it is issued, and it is to be published in AL-JARIDAH AL-RASMIYAH [The Official Gazette].

Issued at the Presidential Palace in Sanaa on 28 Jumada al-Thani 1405 A.H., coinciding with 20 March 1985 A.D.

Col 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih, president and commander in chief of the armed forces  
Secretary of the General People's Congress

8592  
CSO: 4404/332

INDIA

## GANDHI SPEECH OPENS CONGRESS-I CENTENARY OBSERVANCE

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 7 May 85 p 1

[Text]

Mr Rajiv Gandhi launched the Congress centenary celebrations on Tuesday reaffirming the party's commitment to the principles of democracy, socialism, secularism and the uplift of the poor which had made it the biggest mass movement in the world in its first hundred years.

There was no deviation, no drift from the policies which had been enunciated and enriched by Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi, Mr Gandhi assured. Mr Gandhi said, the Congress was poised to take the country towards complete self-reliance and a new era of equal rights for all in the next 100 years of service to the nation.

"The Congress is a big party, but its principles are bigger than itself", the Congress president said in his address at an impressive and colourful function at the Indira Gandhi Stadium on the banks of the Yamuna.

In his speech here and later at a public rally at the Ram Lila Grounds, Mr Gandhi called on all Congressmen to dedicate themselves to the unity and integrity of India cherished goals of the party, which continued to be under constant threat. "Mahatma Gandhi and Indira Gandhi made the supreme sacrifice for India's integrity. We must be ready to make any sacrifice, for the struggle continues", he said.

Mr Gandhi referred to the agitations in Punjab and Gujarat. The Government, he said at the public rally, was willing to go to any length to settle the Punjab problem but its willingness to negotiate should not be taken as a weakness. The Government could be as strict as it was reasonable, he warned, and it would never allow the country's unity and integrity to be destroyed.

He reminded the people that almost 10 years ago in Gujarat, a similar agita-

tion had been launched by people playing a communal game. Today they were using the students on the reservation issue to further their vested political interests. "This game must be stopped", he declared.

Mr Gandhi promised strict measures to root out black money and corruption which sapped the development process, and hinted that the Government would soon bring forward legislation to combat the twin-evils.

Tracing the revolutionary lineage of the Congress, Mr Rajiv Gandhi said the freedom movement had taken inspiration from the Soviet revolution and the birth of a socialist country. Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru, who visited the Soviet Union 10 years after the October revolution, were impressed by what they saw of equality and socialism.

Their thinking gave a new turn to the Congress movement. Nehru saw long ago that India's freedom would be a catalyst for the liberation of Asia and Africa from colonial bondage. Nehru was also among the first to alert the world of the danger of fascism — this at a time when Europe was flirting with Hitler. The result was the holocaust of the Second World War, in which millions died.

Recalling that the world was celebrating the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism, Mr Gandhi warned that the danger persisted. Many had not learnt the lesson from history, and some people were once again eulogising fascism in its new form.

Gandhi, Nehru and Indira Gandhi were important pauses in Gandhi's recounting of the Congress history over the century of its existence. Gandhi had given a new thrust to the party, enunciating the principles of democracy and socialism in politics, secularism in social

and eradication of poverty in economic policies, adding truth and non-violence to them. That is what changed the movement and got the country its freedom.

The Congress was a living party, flexing to meet change. Nehru sowed the seeds of development, his vision transforming India into a strong nation. Nehru put the perspective right as he laid the foundations of modern India, he said.

Mr Rajiv Gandhi made an emotional reference to Indira Gandhi, "who should have been here, speaking". It was under her guidance, he recalled, that the Congress once again found its fighting spirit. Her main goal was the unity and integrity of India, a cause for which she finally gave her life.

It was Mrs Indira Gandhi's adherence to the principles for which the Congress stood that led to a confrontation with the forces of vested interest. The Congress split twice, but each time it emerged stronger. And each time, the people declared with a forceful voice as to which was the real Congress, Mr Gandhi said.

This was an issue that was discussed by the freedom fighters who participated in the seminar on "Congress-Past, Present and Future" which followed the inauguration. Mrs Aruna Asaf Ali, who said she was proud to be invited to the centenary celebrations, recalled how after leaving the Congress, she had herself tried out many parties but had been dissatisfied with each.

The socialism of Nehru which had attracted the youth of her generation was rooted in the soil of India. But in the other parties she found a narrow sectarian and confined thinking which left the masses far away. A national movement had its own pace, and it was the Congress which was carrying the masses with it, she said.

Mr Gandhi said his party would not deviate from its commitment to the masses. It had been created to restore self-respect in the Indian people, during the colonial rule, had fought and won freedom, and had persistently fought for the emancipation of Indian society, uplift of Tribals, Harijans and the poor. "It is a living organisation, much more than a political party", he added.

Recalling the contributions of stalwarts like Rabindranath Tagore, Lala Lajpat Rai, Motilal Nehru, Mahatma Gandhi, Rajendra Prasad, Maulana Azad and Badshah Khan, Mr Gandhi said the Congress Party was originally conceived as a "party for the people". It had now grown into "a party of the people" — a mass movement to defend the rights of the people and bring them into the mainstream.

He said like the Ganga, India's "spiritual river" the Congress had become a massive "political stream". He hoped that in the coming months Congress workers would spread the party message of national unity and integration throughout the country.

Mr Gandhi elaborated on some of the points in his evening address at the mass rally. The rally itself is the first of several that will be held in the Capital and in every small and big town in the country.

Mr Gandhi said his government was aware of the rise in prices, which were often artificially created by certain people. The Government would deal with this problem with a strict hand, he said.

He referred to the danger to India's security and integrity that arose from the massive arms purchases by Pakistan, which both in numbers and sophistication, were beyond the needs of that country. India had always stood for peace, he said, but its preparedness would never slacken, he assured.

INDIA

## GANDHI SPEAKS TO PLANNING MINISTRY COMMITTEE

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 8 May 85 p 1

[Text]

"The seventh Plan emphasis will be on agriculture and anti-poverty programme with special attention being given to "underdeveloped regions and underdeveloped people".

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi told the first meeting of the reconstituted Parliamentary consultative committee of the Planning Ministry on Tuesday that the anti-poverty programmes had served as instrument of social change. The Government, he said, was considering setting up a monitoring system which would tone up the implementation of the programmes and give a correct picture of their progress.

Highlighting the importance of the Plan process, Mr Gandhi said the test of planned development lay in a country's economic strength, its self-reliance and the progress achieved by the people. India had in its six Plans registered solid achievements and major gains.

There had been quite remarkable success stories in various sectors, Mr Gandhi said, but some weaknesses and

inequalities were also apparent. There had been special success in agriculture. The anti-poverty programmes had also helped improve the quality of life of the poor people, specially in the rural areas.

Mr Gandhi debunked comparisons with smaller countries like South Korea or Taiwan with India as being hardly relevant. Compared to some of the larger developing countries, India's progress was quite remarkable, Mr Gandhi said.

Planning Commission deputy chairman Manmohan Singh reaffirmed the socialist plan, goal of self-reliance, equality and the removal of poverty for true economic strength. Education and health were two of the primary areas that needed support, he added. He stressed on the need for imparting necessary training to people to enable them to lead "economically rewarding" lives.

Minister of State for Planning K R Narayanan said in view of the resources constraint, whatever was available should be properly used.

CSO: 4600/1600



INDIA

## INDIRA ASSASSINATION CASE COMMITTED TO SESSIONS

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 7 May 85 p 3

[Text]

After nearly three months of committal proceedings since the charge-sheet was filed on 11 February this year, Additional Chief Metropolitan Magistrate S L Khanna on Monday committed the Indira Gandhi Assassination case to the court of session for trial, reports PTI.

In his order, Mr Khanna directed that Satwant Singh, Kehar Singh and Balbir Singh, all accused in Mrs Gandhi's murder case, be produced before the District and Session Judge on 13 May. Till then, the magistrate further extended the judicial remand of the accused.

Mr Khanna also directed that records of the case, complete in all respects, be sent to the court of sessions immediately and the public prosecutor notified accordingly. The magistrate said that copies of statements under section 161 and 164 CrPC and documents which the prosecution had relied upon for filing the charge-sheet had been supplied to the accused.

The accused have been charged with offences under Section 120-B, 109, 34, IPC read with Section 302 IPC. Satwant Singh, the surviving assassin of Mrs Gandhi has been separately charged with offence under Section 302, IPC and section 27 of the Arms Act for using the SAF carbine lawfully supplied to him to kill the former Prime Minister.

Mr Khanna said in his order, passed at the Central Tihar Jail during the committal proceeding, that under "Operation Blue Star" in the Golden Temple in June last year, Sikhs were agitated and Sikhs employed in the Delhi Police and posted in the Prime Minister's residence had openly held Mrs Gandhi responsible for the army action.

Since the army action, the magistrate said, Balbir Singh had discussed his plan to eliminate Mrs Gandhi with Beant Singh who also had similar plans.

Reiterating the sequence of the murder, Mr Khanna said that on the fateful day Beant Singh and Satwant Singh had manipulated their duties so that they could be present between seven and nine in the morning at the TMC gate, separating Number 1 Safdarjang Road, official residence of the former Prime Minister and Number 1 Akbar Road, where she met people.

As Mrs Gandhi came out and was proceeding towards Number 1 Akbar Road, where she had an appointment with an Irish TV team for recording an interview, Beant Singh first fired five shots from his imported .38 bore revolver followed by Satwant Singh pumping 25 bullets into her from his SAF carbine.

CSO: 4600/1599

INDIA

# CPI-M LEADER SAYS PARTY OPPOSED TO SEPARATISTS

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 7 May 85 p 4

[Text]

**Madras, May 6:** The CPI(M) general secretary, Mr E.M.S. Namboodiripad, today strongly opposed the demand for Tamil Eelam, a separate state in Sri Lanka for Tamils.

Addressing a press conference here, Mr Namboodiripad said that his party was opposed to any separatist demand, be it "Khalistan" for the Sikhs or "Eelam" for the Tamils. He said his party's stand on the question of Tamil Eelam had already been conveyed to the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi.

Mr Namboodiripad also criticised the DMK president, Mr M. Karunanidhi's stand on the Sri Lankan Tamil problem. The CPI(M) is a member of the DMK-led Opposition front in Tamil Nadu. Castigating the DMK chief's demand for military intervention in Sri Lanka, Mr Namboodiripad said, "Even if Mr Karunanidhi becomes the President of India, he cannot send the Army to settle the island's ethnic issue."

He said it was unfortunate that the DMK president had initiated an open discussion on the Sri Lanka Tamil problem and condemned his open support for Tamil Eelam. He pointed out that dividing the government and the Opposition, the states

and the Centre would not serve the purpose of helping the suffering brethren in Sri Lanka.

At the same time, President Jayewardene's attitude to the Tamils was "harmful" and would not help to settle the problem soon and amicably, he said.

The Tamils and the Sinhalese have been living together in Sri Lanka for centuries and it was up to them to let bygones be bygones, Mr Namboodiripad said. It was the onus of both the Tamils and the Sinhalese to protect the unity and integrity of their country he said.

Referring to the Punjab problem, Mr Namboodiripad congratulated both the Prime Minister and the Akali Dal president, Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, for taking "correct steps" to solve the tangle.

On the anti-reservation agitation in Gujarat, Mr Namboodiripad said reservation was not the final solution for removing backwardness. However, his party was not opposed to reservation based on caste as it was logical and rational.

Mr Namboodiripad said his party was opposed to single-party rule both at the national and state level. In Kerala particularly, a single party would not be in a position to solve the multifaceted problems faced by the state.

CSO: 4600/1598

INDIA

## CONGRESS-I POLICY ON CENTENARY STIRS CONTROVERSY

Madras THE HINDU in English 6 May 85 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 5.

The Congress centenary celebrations begin tomorrow in an atmosphere of needless controversy over the ruling party's ill-advised attempt to transform this historic event into a political ritual for counting the blessings of its rule rather than recapitulating the saga of the freedom struggle, much less recapture its spirit for the benefit of the post-independence generation.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, will be inaugurating these celebrations in Delhi tomorrow, in his capacity as the 60th president of the 100-year-old organisation, whose main achievement was that it brought freedom to the country, but which failed lamentably in preventing Partition.

**No public enthusiasm:** The celebrations will go on till December 28, the hundredth anniversary of the first Congress session held in Bombay in 1855 under the presidency of W. C. Bonnerjee, when some western-educated Indians met to plead for self-rule. A sad feature of these celebrations is the marked absence of any public enthusiasm for this commemoration of the independence movement in the changed context, since the organisers have not been able to capture the new mood of the people.

The original intention was to appoint an all-party committee to plan these celebrations in a fitting manner as a great national event free from any partisan politics or personality, cult to honour the memory of the many great stalwarts who spearheaded the freedom struggle. But it was decided subsequently to treat this as a Congress (I) affair leading to a virtual boycott by other parties including those which were a part of the old Congress before its two splits.

**Not properly planned:** The centenary committee itself was unable to get into full stride because the convenors were changed too often with nobody in charge over a period of time to properly plan the celebrations. The first one, Mr. B. N. Pandey, was appointed Governor of Orissa, and his successor, Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma, who had put some life into the organising committee, was sent as Governor of Andhra Pradesh, and the present incumbent, Mrs. Sheila Kaul entrusted with this responsibility after she was dropped from the Central Cabinet, has had no time to organise the celebrations on an all-India scale.

It was not, therefore, surprising that the invitations to former Congressmen, the surviving stalwarts of the freedom struggle, were sent out only a couple of days back at the behest of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi who was apparently unaware that they had not been requested to attend the inaugural function. Most of them have declined to participate in what is essentially a Congress (I) celebration.

**History:** The organising committee has commissioned some leading scholars to write the history of the Congress in five volumes tracing the modest origins of the self-rule movement which under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi assumed the character of a mass struggle for independence. It will also deal with the role of Nehru, Patel, Indira Gandhi and other leaders in the post-independence era of building India into a secular, socialist, democratic state.

But unfortunately the very attempt to recall vividly the role of the titanic figures who led the freedom movement to rekindle the old spirit of sacrifice and suffering for the country's cause looks out of place in the present-day atmosphere of an acquisitive and permissive society that has shed all the old values.

CSO: 4600/1596

INDIA

## ALL-INDIA CONGRESS-I COMMITTEE MEETING CONCLUDES

### Gandhi Speech, Resolution Passed

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 6 May 85 p 1

[Text]

**T**he AICC concluded its two-day session on Sunday affirming the Congress commitment to socialism and stressing that there was no other conceivable way for solving the people's problems.

Congress president Rajiv Gandhi in his concluding remarks declared there was no question of resiling from this commitment.

Mr Gandhi in his speech and the AICC in its economic resolution allayed fears that the public sector was being ignored. Mr Gandhi said the Government was in fact removing some shortcomings which had crept in. After they were removed, the public sector would again start contributing towards the country's development.

Mr Gandhi said there had been no dilution of the programmes for the removal of poverty. The Centre would make increased allocations for the anti-poverty projects as soon as the State governments finalised their budgets.

Responding to the strong demand made in the economic debate for steps to curb the price rise, Mr Gandhi said strict action will be taken against those who indulged in the malpractices that led to price rise.

Mr Gandhi announced the decision to institute an award in the memory of Indira Gandhi for national integration. The appeal for instituting the award came from Brahmanand Reddy.

"I am pleased to inform the house that we had made all arrangements in this connection and the award would be instituted this year", Mr Gandhi said.

(According to PTI, Mr Gandhi today had a dig at the working of a news agency which had given an enterprising interpretation to his opening speech to the session.

He said that he was informed by a correspondent of a news agency (not PTI) on Saturday that he had given an interpretation to his speech referring to Pakistan's nuclear capabilities. What does this mean?

Mr Gandhi said that while commenting on national policies people should be more careful. You cannot interpret to give a totally different meaning. Interpretation or reporting on issues relating to national interests should be done in a responsible manner. People who give totally different meanings could not be described as responsible, Mr Gandhi added.)

Mr Gandhi said that the Congress organisational election would be held early next year. The party would launch a massive membership drive from this month. The process of elections at the grass root level would be started within two months at the end of the membership drive, he said.

Mr Rajiv Gandhi asserted that 70 crore people of India had clearly decided which was the real Congress and any argument over the matter was irrelevant. Mr Gandhi was reacting to some former Congress leaders' statements alleging that the centenary celebrations had been reduced to the Congress-I celebrations.

Finance Minister V P Singh, who intervened in the debate and Mr Pranab Mukherjee who had piloted the resolution said very strong measures were required to bring these people to book. Mr Singh said there would be special courts to try tax evaders and those involved in black money.

The highlight of the concluding session was the economic resolution. Moving it, Mr Pranab Mukherjee refuted allegations that the Congress had deviated from the path of socialism. The decision on modernisation of industry and taking the country to the 21st century should not be seen as a departure from the avowed Congress goals, he said.

Mr Mukherjee vigorously refuted the charge of a stepmotherly treatment to the public sector. The public sector was the sheet anchor in India's progress and it was only through it that the objective of self-reliance could be achieved. Mr Mukherjee said the investment in the public

sector had increased from a mere seven per cent in the First Plan to 73 per cent in the Seventh. Speaking in the same vein, Finance Minister V P Singh assured the members of the Government's full commitment to protecting the public sector. Mr Singh reminded members that it was this sector that had provided not only relief to the masses but also basic industries to the country which had been the basis for the strides taken by the private sector.

Mr Singh pointed out that the two sectors were in fact interdependent and that the prosperity of the private sector could not be achieved without the public sector. He underlined the importance that the institution of public sector had attained by observing that its total turnover had now reached the same level as the Union Budget. "We have to develop it further", he said.

The members raised a variety of issues in the six-hour debate including the recent spurt in

prices of consumer items, the need to remove the regional imbalances, the granting of more funds to anti-poverty schemes like the NREP and the IRDP, and the need to evolve a machinery for the proper implementation of the economic programmes of the Government. Members by and large endorsed Mr Rajiv Gandhi's efforts for modernisation and hoped that it would be used for the benefit of the common man.

The resolution expressed concern over the "unwarranted" rise in prices of some commodities but felt that besides the seasonal factors, the phenomenon was due to the role of unscrupulous elements who were taking advantage of the situation. The resolution called upon the Government to streamline the public distribution system. The AICC also called for an effective consumer movement throughout the country.

#### More Details Given

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 6 May 85 p 1

[Text] NEW DELHI, May 5 (UNI)--THE Congress today stuck to its traditional "left-of-the-centre" stance, both in political and economic spheres.

The two-day session of the All-India Congress Committee, which ended here today, unequivocally declared the party's commitment to socialism and mixed economy in which the public sector would have a dominant role to play.

The AICC set at rest speculations rife in political circles that the Congress might tilt towards the right in its policies and programmes.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, in his concluding remarks, made it a point to reassure partymen that the Congress would not deflect from its chosen path of socialism "come what may".

Mr. Gandhi, like the finance minister, Mr. V. P. Singh, who spoke before him on the economic resolution, highlighted the role of the public sector in India's quest for self-reliance--a prerequisite to the country's unity and integrity.

In fact, Mr. Gandhi said his government wanted to cleanse the public sector of its weakness and make it more stronger.

The finance minister said the turnover of the public sector was equal to the Central budget.

Mr. Gandhi announced that organisational elections from grassroot level upwards will be held in the beginning of next year and the process completed within a couple of months.



The membership campaign beginning now would end on December 31. He asked partmen to enlist "genuine" members and further strengthen the party.

The economic resolution, passed after a day-long debate in which 26 AICC members spoke, expressed concern at the "unwarranted rise" in the prices of some commodities.

Mr. Gandhi took a serious note of the price-spurt and said his government would come down heavily on those responsible for this trend.

He said the government would take all possible steps to hold the price-line.

The resolution suggested tightening up of the legal and administrative mechanism to punish economic offenders.

Mr. V. P. Singh said the government had taken steps in this regard. Such offenders had no place in the society. "Their only refuge could either be in the Arabian Sea or jails", Mr. Singh remarked amidst thunderous applause.

The 25-paragraph resolution, moved by the former finance minister, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, also reaffirmed the party's faith in the primacy of the public sector, planned development and self-reliance in all spheres.

It asked the private sector to show results and display a mature sense of social responsibility.

While seeking the co-operation of the private sector in curbing tax evasion and eliminating connected malpractices the party directed the government to tighten up the legal and administrative mechanism to punish economic offenders irrespective of their status in the society.

#### Party Goals

Winding up the discussion, Mr. Mukherjee attributed the price-hike primarily to seasonal factors and said it was, not necessary because of the budgetary deficit.

He hoped there would be a substantial step up in the allocation for the anti-poverty programme after the finalisation of the state's seventh plan.

Earlier, AICC members stressed the need for holding the price-line. They supported the party's call for strengthening the public distribution system and launching a "very effective" consumer movement.

Mr. Mukherji said the Congress was not in any way straying from its avowed goals. He said the target of taking the country into the 21st century could not be taken as a deviation from Congress principles.

Mr. Mukherji said the steps being suggested by the new government were based on past experiences and aimed at plugging loopholes which stood in the way of implementation of a number of programmes.

A number of steps had been taken in the 1985-86 budget to lessen the burden on the salaried class and enhance growth of the rural sector, Mr. Mukherjee said.

Refuting criticism that the Congress government was alying less emphasis on the public sector, he said figures proved otherwise. The government corporate sector investment--only seven per cent in the first plan--had risen to 73 per cent in the sixth plan.

Seconding the resolution, the Union irrigation and power minister, Mr. B. Shankaranand, called upon the opposition parties to forget their political differences and co-operate with the government in its programmes for the upliftment of the poor and downtrodden.

#### Public Sector Role

The resolution urged the government to ensure that the public sector outlay for the seventh plan (1985-90) was maintained at Rs. 180,000 crores envisaged in the approach paper.

Referring to the problems of mobilising resources, it said these constraints should be "overcome with determination" to ensure adequate levels of investment in areas vital for the country's growth and for programmes to enable the weaker sections to earn better incomes.

The resolution said that the public sector "is the sheet anchor of India's progress" and a national instrument for rapid industrialisation and spread of modern technology to remote areas.

It was only by strengthening the public sector that the objective of self-reliance could be achieved, the resolution said. It welcomed the government's initiative to bring about radical structural changes to improve the efficiency and productivity of the public sector.

It was necessary to give the public sector managements "the functional autonomy needed for efficient functioning."

The party expressed confidence that the modern, forward looking and dynamic managerial cadres developed over the years would rise to the occasion and inject into the public sector "a fresh vitality." It was also confident that the workers would respond to the challenges facing the public sector "by a disciplined and sustained endeavour to raise productivity."

The resolution said the country had consciously followed a pattern of growth which provided opportunities for development to the socially and economically deprived sections.

"We have never believed in the trickle down effect of growth," it said.

#### 20-Point Plan

The objective of growth with social justice was symbolised by the 20-point programme which reached out to scheduled castes, tribals and other backward communities.

The resolution urged the government to increase allocation in the current year for programmes for the upliftment of the poor, for giving greater attention to agriculture and for application of modern technology in a large measure in areas where productivity was low.

It also endorsed the government's three-pronged strategy to modernise agriculture, increase food production and improve the lots of the farmers

AICC members urged the government to increase allocation for its six-point programme now being implemented to inject a new dynamism in agriculture.

The members urged the government to make the crop insurance scheme more comprehensive to benefit small and marginal farmers. They called for more effective implementation of the social security scheme for rural poor and the 20-point programme, with a sharper focus on anti-poverty schemes.

#### Backtrack to Socialism

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 7 May 85 p 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, May 6--The Congress-I's apparent backtrack to "Socialism", or at least the postures towards it that were adopted in the just-concluded two-day AICC(I) meeting, is a sequel to the considerable pressure that was exerted on the party High Command in the behind-the-scene talks during the drafting of the economic policy resolution, as also the general mood of the members against any directional change in the economic policy, it is learnt.

The economic policy resolution, it is said, was changed substantially after certain members made it known to the leadership at the drafting stage that the talk of liberalization of economy, import of technology as also opening the door to multinationals was not going down very well with the party's ground-level workers, who had to constantly meet people worried by their problems of hunger, shelter and clothing.

It was also pointed out to the leadership that the word "socialism" which used to be the keyword in the party's manifestos and other resolutions before had not appeared in any party document for some time, and this was causing some worry lest a basic change was being brought about by the Congress-I's highest policy-making body, the Working Committee.

It appears that the leadership responded to the suggestions, realizing that it would not be prudent to bring about any directional change in the economy from the time of Indira Gandhi so soon, though the party's supporters could be persuaded to accept some amount of modernization of industry and some technology import within the previous broad parameters. This is said to be the reason the leadership eventually authorized the change in the draft and agreed to a new emphasis on Socialism.

According to reports, Mr. Sanat Mehta from Gujarat pleaded at the Working Committee meeting that the party's adherence to Socialism and the cause of the poor must be restated and written into the economic resolution unambiguously, as the new pronouncements by the present Government were already causing misgivings.

A former Congress president, Mr K. Brahmananda Reddy, is also reported to have said that in any declaration of its economic policies, the Congress-I could not ignore the causes of the poor. Mr Reddy, while speaking openly at the AICC(I) meetings also made the most forthright speech of all and pleaded for proper implementation of anti-poverty programmes.

There were very few speakers at the AICC(I) meeting who dared transgress the conformist line. Almost all sang in praise of leadership and its wisdom in trying to bring about a new era. But there were one or two who did venture to speak out, and it is said they did so because they did not very much appreciate the Finance Minister, Mr Vishwanath Pratap Singh's opening lines in which he was reported to have said that bread, cloth and shelter were not everything of the economy.

CSO: 4600/1595

18 June 1985

## INDIA

## ANALYST NOTES IMPORTANCE OF AUSTRALIAN'S VISIT

Madras THE HINDU in English 7 May 85 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 6.

The Labour Government in Australia headed by Mr. Bob Hawke is keen on establishing a closer relationship with India as part of its new foreign policy drive to cultivate countries of the Indian Ocean region.

The Foreign Minister, Mr. William Hayden, who is the most influential figure in Mr. Hawke's Cabinet, is arriving in Delhi tomorrow, in the course of a 19-day tour of India, Pakistan, Nepal and Sri Lanka to step up Australia's co-operation with the South Asian nations.

Indo-Australian relations have been consistently good and free from frictions, but not very substantial in the sense that politically the two belonged to different worlds despite their growing bilateral contacts in many spheres. The present Australian Government, which has been taking an independent stand on many issues, has been trying to establish better understanding with Asian countries without prejudice to its own pro-Western position.

It is no longer toeing the American line on the nuclear question, as the previous Conservative Government led by Mr. Malcolm Fraser did, although Mr. Hawke has not been critical of the increasing U.S. military presence in the Indian Ocean, as the former Labour Premier, Mr. Bob Whitlam, was in his time, much to the chagrin of Washington. But Mr. Hawke went along with his New Zealand colleague, Mr. David Lange, in denying the use of Australian territory for monitoring American nuclear tests in the South Pacific region.

As Foreign Minister, Mr. Hayden has been pursuing a more independent policy even on Kampuchea in the sense that Australia has de-recognised the Pol Pot set-up, although it has not recognised the Heng Samrin regime. But it has been talking directly to Vietnam on the Kampuchean issue, unlike the member-coun-

tries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN).

**Atrocities condemned:** The present Australian Government has also spoken up against the army atrocities on the Tamils in Sri Lanka, without in any way condoning terrorism. It has been pleading for a political settlement of the ethnic problem within the framework of a united Sri Lankan State.

It has also been quietly abandoning the earlier policy of striking a delicate balance in Australia's relationship with India and Pakistan. Though no special political significance need be attached to it, the very fact that Mr. Hayden has been thinking of paying a brief sight-seeing visit to Kashmir during his current tour of the sub-continent has not failed to attract attention.

So the Indian leaders are looking forward to their talks with Mr. Hayden on many issues of mutual interest. It has not gone unnoticed that he has deplored the American trade embargo on Nicaragua, saying Australia would have strongly opposed this step if the U.S. had consulted it.

**Authority:** Mr. Hayden was leader of the Australian Labour party before the 1983 elections, but he stepped down to let Mr. Hawke take his place and lead the party to victory and return to power after a long spell in the Opposition. So he will be talking on behalf of the present Australian Government with much greater authority than what a visiting Foreign Minister can do in a different situation.

It is for this reason that India is attaching considerable importance to this visit by Mr. Hayden, who himself said today before his departure from Canberra that Australia had neglected its relationship with India for far too long and he was going to Delhi to establish closer links with it.



INDIA

## AUSTRALIAN TELLS PROPOSAL FOR JAMMU, KASHMIR OBSERVERS

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 8 May 85 p 1

[Text]

Australia has mooted a proposal for other countries to take turns in detailing military detachments in Jammu and Kashmir as part of the UN observer force.

The suggestion was thrown up on Tuesday by Australian Foreign Minister William Hayden during his first round of official talks with Minister of State for External Affairs Khurshed Alam Khan.

Mr Hayden, the first Australian Foreign Minister to visit India in five years, is understood to have taken up the issue with Mr Khan when the two sides reviewed regional, global and bilateral affairs during the hour-long talks.

Mr Hayden is to visit Kashmir where an Australian military detachment has been posted for the last 40 years. He told newsmen at the airport that he would "have a good look at it and see whether they have made a solid contribution".

His Government was considering an arrangement under which other countries' detachments would be posted in Kashmir by rotation, he added. Since the first Pakistani invasion of Kashmir in 1949, the UN has posted military observers in the region.

During the day's round of talks, Mr Hayden and Mr Khan apparently also discussed the Sri Lankan problem of ethnic violence. Australia was concerned about the Sri Lankan situation since a large Tamil and Sinhala population lives in Sydney and Melbourne, Mr Hayden

told newsmen.

According to an official spokesman, the two sides discussed the Indian Ocean, and explained their respective positions on militarisation of the ocean. India stressed the need for turning the ocean into a zone of peace.

While reviewing global situation, the two sides exchanged views on problems of disarmament and underlined the need for giving the process an impetus, especially nuclear disarmament. They jointly pleaded for a ban on nuclear tests and a treaty prohibiting development of chemical weapons. On bilateral relations, according to the official spokesman, the two sides noted that there were no serious political differences between them. However, there were issues on which the two states could exchange views and work more harmoniously.

The two sides were agreed that the state of bilateral relations offered wide scope for stepping up their economic and commercial exchanges. As a follow-up of Mr Hayden's visit, the Australian Trade Minister will visit India later this year to discuss measures for strengthening bilateral trade and commerce.

Mr Hayden is to have an unscheduled second round of talks with Mr Khan on Wednesday and also call on Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. He met chairman of the Policy Planning Commission G Parthasarathy late on Tuesday evening.

CSO: 4600/1600

INDIA

## PROBLEMS WITH UK OVER HELICOPTER PURCHASE PLANS

Madras THE HINDU in English 3 May 85 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 2.

The Indian decision not to go ahead with the purchase of 27 Westland WG-30 transport helicopters from Britain, which was confirmed by the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, today in Parliament, has led to new strains in Indo-British relations.

The Government of India had initially intended to buy subject to certain technical considerations 21 of these helicopters for use by the ONGC for its off-shore operations and another six for the VIP squadron of the Air Force.

The Prime Minister said in the Rajya Sabha today during question hour that these Westland helicopters would not meet Indian requirements in the crucial area of safety and, in terms of engine performance, fuel efficiency and other factors, there were other makes that were far superior to the Westland WG-30s offered by Britain.

During her recent one-day visit to Delhi, the British Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, devoted roughly half the time during her private conversation with Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, to press for the purchase of these helicopters to help the British firm that had manufactured them, specially for sale to India on the basis of a letter of intent issued by the Indian High Commission in London. When Mr. Rajiv Gandhi raised some objections about the performance of these helicopters, she suggested that Indian and British experts should meet to discuss them.

**Aid affected:** Before she left Delhi, Mrs. Thatcher handed over a letter to Mr. Rajiv Gandhi at the airport during a brief unscheduled conversation, stating that the British aid of £85 millions (about Rs. 100 crores) in two instalments of £45 millions during the current financial year and the remaining £20 millions next year, to pay partly for these helicopters would not be available if India decides not to purchase them. The British Minister for Overseas Development, Mr. Timothy Raison, who visited India a week later repeated the same thing saying that the aid funds pledged for this transaction could

not be transferred for other projects at this late stage.

Accordingly, the request for utilising this aid to pay for the 11 more Sea Harriers that India was buying for the Navy was turned down on the ground that aid funds pledged for commercial transactions could not be used for military purchases.

**Awkward questions:** This controversy has raised some awkward questions about why the Indian High Commission in London was directed from Delhi to issue a letter to Westland Company on July 2, 1984, that the Government had selected this particular make of helicopter for use by the ONGC and IAF subject to certain conditions. A couple of weeks later another letter was sent altering the wording of the earlier communication to say that India proposed to buy these helicopters after proper evaluation.

There were apparently some influential figures who were interested in pushing this deal through on other considerations. The British Government maintains that Westland went ahead and manufactured these helicopters specially for India on the strength of the letters written on behalf of the Government of India by the Indian High Commission in London.

The helicopter sent to India for evaluation in December last did not meet the performance standards prescribed by the Air Force.

But strangely enough no inquiry has been ordered into why the Indian High Commission issued the two letters, and at whose behest this was done, without waiting for a technical evaluation of the performance of various other makes of helicopters that were being offered to India at that time.

**Losing proposition:** The Prime Minister himself said in Parliament today that after six or eight years the Westland helicopters would be a losing proposition. There were other helicopters, he added, that were superior to Westland in terms of engine and fuel efficiency and in many other ways, especially for operating in coastal areas and in bad weather conditions.

INDIA

# BRIEFS

**CPI-M CONGRESS PLANNED**--Calcutta, April 29--The 12th CPI(M) congress will be held here in the last week of December, according to Mr Sajoj Mukherjee, CPI(M) state secretary. Briefing newsmen on the Left Front's meeting today, Mr Mukherjee said an accord had been reached for adjustment 120 of the 141 seats in the Calcutta Municipal Corporation elections. The Calcutta district committee of the Left Front was holding discussions on the other 21 seats and would shortly arrive at a decision, he added. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 30 Apr 85 p 1]

**COMMUNISTS TO MOSCOW**--A two-member CPI-M delegation, consisting of politburo members M Basavapunnaiiah and Harkishan Singh Surjeet, is leaving for Moscow on Tuesday to attend the celebrations marking the 40th anniversary of victory over fascism. This is for the first time that the Central Committee of the CPSU has invited a marxist delegation to the Soviet Union to participate in an official function. A four-member CPSU delegation is already in the country at the CPI-M's invitation and has toured West Bengal, Tamilnadu and Kerala. On Tuesday it will reach Delhi. The delegation is led by alternate CPSU Central Committee member A S Kapto and includes Mr V Chichrov, an academician at the Institute of Oriental Studies in Moscow, who is normally consulted by the Soviet party on matters relating to India. The CPI too has sent a high-level delegation to Moscow on the occasion comprising party general secretary C Rajeswara Rao and national council secretary Jagannath Sarkar. As a reciprocal gesture, a CPSU delegation, consisting of five members and led by the Byelorussian CPSU chief A I Zhilsky, will be arriving in Delhi on Wednesday. Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister N D Tiwari will lead a high governmental delegation to represent India at the Moscow celebrations of 40th anniversary of victory over fascism on 8 and 9 May. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 7 May 85 p 5]

**TIES WITH UAE**--ABU DHABI, May 6--The United Arab Emirates and India have agreed to boost ties in trade, investment, labour and training, the Indian Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr Khursheed Alam Khan, said yesterday, reports Reuter. Mr Khan told a Press conference at the end of two days of talks by the UAE-India Joint Commission that the two countries had agreed to form working groups to study ways of boosting ties in the four areas. India's expatriate community of 250,000 is the largest in the UAE, a country of 1.2 million people. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 7 May 85 p 13]

TRADE UNION LEADER DIES--KANPUR, May 3--The All India Bharatiya Mazdoor Singh general secretary, Ram Naresh Singh, died here yesterday of brain cancer, reports UNI. He was 60. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 4 May 85 p 7]

SOVIET PIPELINE BID--NEW DELHI, May 5--The Soviet Union is reported to be interested in bidding for the controversial 1700-kilometrelong Hazira-Bijapur-Jagdishpur (HB) pipeline that India proposed to build at a cost of over Rs. 1,600 crores to feed the six gas-based fertilizer plants that are to be set up in Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan. As a country that has built the Trans-Siberian pipeline to Europe, the Soviet Union claims to be better qualified than any other competing country to construct the proposed Indian pipeline. After sounding the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, during his visit to Moscow later this month, the Soviet Government is expected to come out with a firm offer along with a Rouble credit to finance the supply of equipment and technical services for the project. [G. K. Reddy] [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 6 May 85 p 1]

RELATIONS WITH PRC--NEW DELHI, May 2--Differences between India and China on certain aspects of the boundary question have been narrowed, the Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr. Khurshed Alam Khan told the Rajya Sabha today. He said both sides had agreed to commence substantive discussions on the boundary question at the next round of official-level talks. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 3 May 85 p 8]

ZAIL SINGH'S ILLNESS--New Delhi (PTI)--The President, Mr Zail Singh, who has been bedridden with an attack of mumps has been advised complete rest for one more week. The President, who will be 69 on Sunday, will not be able to receive visitors on his birthday. A Rashtrapati Bhavan spokesman has appealed to friends and wellwishers of the President not to call on him on that day. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 4 May 85 p 1]

ENVOY TO UK--New Delhi, May 2 (UNI)--Dr P. C. Alexander former principal secretary to the Prime Minister, is being appointed India's next high commissioner to Britain. Dr Alexander had recently resigned his job owning full responsibility for the misconduct of his staff involved in the espionage ring. Dr Alexander was at one stage offered the post of governor of Maharashtra by the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, but later it was decided to assign him to the key diplomatic post in London. Dr Alexander who had earlier headed the united nations trade office in New York will take up his new post shortly. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 3 May 85 p 1]

SAMTA PARTY FORMED--Lucknow, May 2--The rebel Lok Dal leader, Mr Ram Naresh Yadav, today transformed his splinter group, Lok Dal (R), into a new "national" party. At a meeting of the group's "special committee" here, it was decided to change the party's name to Samta Party, with Mr Yadav as its president. Mr Yadav, a former chief minister of Uttar Pradesh, said the party will have units in Bihar, Haryana, Rajasthan and Kerala. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 3 May 85 p 4]



RAJIV EGYPT VISIT--CAIRO, May 2--Mr Rajiv Gandhi is to make an official visit to Egypt in June, President Hosni Mubarak announced here yesterday in a May Day speech to union leaders, reports AFP. Mr Mubarak, who did not give exact dates for the visit, said the Iran-Iraq war would be the main topic for talks as both India and Egypt had attempted to mediate in the Gulf conflict. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 3 May 85 p 7]

SIKH YOUTH FRONT--BHUBANESWAR, April 30--The formation of a Sikh youth organization--the Nationalist Youth Front--in Orissa on the pattern of the Delhi-based National Sikh Youth Federation of India was announced yesterday, reports PTI. Mr Gurmit Singh Walia, convener of the front, told a Press conference here that the new organization would create brotherly feelings among Hindus, Sikhs and people of other religions. It was opposed to the militant activities of a group of terrorists in Punjab in the name of religion and would exert pressure on Akali leaders from all parts of the country to accept the Centre's invitation for a settlement of the Punjab problem. Mr Walia said that the front was also opposed to the use of religious authority of the Akal Takht for political motives and felt that the Akali leaders should respond immediately to the good atmosphere created by the Government and try to reach a settlement. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 1 May 85 p 7]

EXPORTS TO NORWAY--India and Norway signed a bilateral agreement for regulating exports of textile and clothing products in Delhi on Wednesday. Of the 21 items covered by the agreement, quantitative limits have been laid down for nine garment items and one made-up item, namely bed linen. Besides cottage industry, handicrafted textile products, commonly called Indian items and handloom bed linen have been accorded quota-free access to Norway. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 2 May 85 p 2]

HELICOPTERS FOR NAVY--BANGALORE, April 30 (UNI)--The Indian Navy is to acquire 20 more British Sea-King helicopters, Admiral R. H. Tahlilani said here today. He told newsmen that orders had already been placed and the first of these helicopters would be delivered soon. Expressing confidence about the navy's role in defending the nation, he said "we will continue to build a navy which the nation needs, an efficient navy which is self-reliant." He said a variety of ships were already being built indigenously. Two frigates were being built at the Mazgaon Docks and work on the country's third tanker would commence shortly, he added. Admiral Tahlilani said the navy was very much interested in the Advanced Light Helicopter being developed by the Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL) with West German collaboration adding that it would be a fitting replacement for the Chetaks. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 1 May 85 p 9]

RUSSIAN OIL SEARCH--NEW DELHI, April 30 (UNI & PTI)--THE Soviet Union would conduct "intensive integrated" oil exploration in an unidentified basin in the country under the Indo-Soviet protocol signed last month, the petroleum minister, Mr. Nawal Kishore Sharma, told the Lok Sabha today. Replying to Mr. Ram Prakash and Mr. K. Kumhambu, he said the decision regarding the area, work programme and time frame were still to be taken. Mr. Sharma said Indo-Soviet co-operation in oil exploration dated back to 1956. The Soviet experts were engaged in carrying out seismic surveys in the Diamond Harbour and one other area in West Bengal, he said. [Excerpt] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 1 May 85 p 7]



IRAN

**PRESIDENT URGES AFRICANS TO UNITE AGAINST REMNANTS OF PAST DESPOTISM**

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 30 Apr 85 p 22

[Text] KEYHAN Political Service—The President of the Republic met yesterday with the Foreign Minister of Sierra Leone. While announcing the Islamic Republic of Iran's support for the struggles of the people of Africa and Namibia and stressing that the Iranian Islamic revolution acts in the interest of nations, he said: The time has come for nations to unite and shake off the remnants of oppression and injustice which have been imposed on them. Our view is that the responsibility to oppose expansionist and interventionist policies is the same everywhere.

The President's Public Relations Office reports that Sheka Kanu, Foreign Minister of Sierra Leone, who had come to Iran at the head of a high-ranking political and economic delegation, met yesterday morning with President Hojjat ol-Eslam va-ol-Moslemin Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i. This meeting was also attended by Foreign Minister Dr Velayati, the Arab and African Nations Political Director and the Sierra Leone Minister of Trade and Industry. The Foreign Minister of Sierra Leone began by expressing pleasure at having traveled to Iran to meet with the President of the Islamic Republic of Iran and stressing the comprehensive expansion of relations between Iran and Sierra Leone. He said: We are happy to have sincere and strong relations with a large country like Iran which is committed to the defense of the oppressed, because this defense shows clearly the Islamic Republic of Iran's righteous position with regard to the SWAPO matter.

According to this report, Hojjat ol-Eslam Khamene'i then expressed his pleasure with the growing cooperation and relations between the countries. He said: We are sensitive towards the countries of the third world and especially those on the African continent, and we can well feel the pain of the nations of Africa. We ourselves were under pressure from domineering powers for years, and we know the formidable and intolerable pressure of various kinds the superpowers have brought upon the nations of the third world. He added: The disorder and difficulties in African nations arise from policies imposed on these nations throughout the age of imperialism, and this cannot be denied. For this reason, the time has now come for nations to stand together and destroy the effects of that oppression.

The President stressed the Islamic revolution's comprehensive movement in the interest of nations. He said: You know that in the first days of the triumph of the Islamic revolution we cut our relations with the racist regime of South Africa and cut off its oil. In its place, from those same first days we strengthened our relations with deprived nations and the African countries. He stressed: We support the struggle of the people of South Africa against this country's racist regime and the Namibia issue, and we consider their struggle just and righteous.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Khamene'i referred to the domineering policies reigning over the people of Africa. He said: Unfortunately, the domineering policies of the great powers in the Third World, including the countries of Africa, still seek expansion and domination. Today, among the dangers we feel for the countries of Africa is the danger of penetration by the Zionist regime in this area, and they are a racist regime and agents for American policies in Africa. The Zionist regime, like the oppressive South African regime, is corrupt and racist. Today the same policy that protects the South African regime supports the Zionist regime in the Middle East, and it is our belief that the responsibility of opposing expansionist and interventionist policies is the same everywhere.

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CSO: 4640/563

IRAN

KOMITEH ANNOUNCES ARREST OF 500

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 29 Apr 85 p 2

[Text] Following the recent arrests in Tehran, the revolution komitek announced the number of persons arrested as 500, who are accused of failing to observe Islamic behavior.

The text of the explanatory announcement of the public relations office of the central headquarters of the revolution komitek is as follows:

While the brave, martyr-nurturing nation of Iran, following the overthrow of the regime of the tyrant, has for nearly seven years been following a severe and constant struggle against global oppression and today we are witnessing the self-sacrifice of our brave combatants in the fronts of the battle of truth against falsehood, those who have accepted the syrup of martyrdom as a pleasant sweet to preserve and protect the sacred sanctuary of Islam and sever the hands of the Ba'thist aggressors, can we accept that a number of immoral people, considering so much pure blood which has been sacrificed for this universal revolution, nurture no thought but spreading the colonialist culture of the West and have no aim but debauchery, bothering the chaste women of the Islamic nation and spreading corruption and prostitution, going so far as to enrage the Hezbollah nation and the honorable families of the martyrs.

Following the warning of the Prosecutor's Office, the warnings of the officials of the country and the united cries of the Hezbollah nation have decided that time has run out for the corrupt. Now, it is seen that a number have still not reformed themselves, have still not given up their obstinacy and in some manner or other ignore the rules of behavior of the Islamic society in the streets, bazaars, and public places or around girls' schools and by pretentiously engaging in acts contrary to religious law, wearing gaudy and offensive clothes and makeup contrary to public morality, are bothering women and want to present the face of the revolution as ugly. It was decided that steps

should be taken in this regard. Hence, in a coordinated, swift action and based on prior identifications, in the course of the past 2 days, 500 of the riffraff, loiterers, and bothersome persons throughout Tehran were arrested. And upon investigation of their history and situation, they will be placed at the disposal of the Prosecutor's Office. Also, in the above-mentioned operations, several centers for the production and distribution of alcoholic beverages were discovered and confiscated. The revolution komiteh and the judicial branch have decided to decisively stop such heinous actions, and with the help of God and the cooperation of the Islamic nation, they will continue their religious and legal mission.

In conclusion, with strict warnings to the riffraff and those who have sold themselves to Western culture, it is requested of the nation which is always present on the scene, particularly the administrators of schools, mosques and businesses, that they help us in this important task and report their information to the news headquarters of the revolution komiteh through telephone numbers 310000-9.

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CSO: 4640/567

IRAN

CULTURAL REVOLUTION, POLITICO-ECONOMIC, OTHER ISSUES EXAMINED

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 29 Apr 85 pp 18, 17

[Interview with Dr Mohammad Reza Rahchamani, chairman of Majlis health committee; Mas'ud Mozafari, a student; and a Tehran University professor of law and political science, by KEYHAN; date and place not specified]

[Text] KEYHAN political service. Continuing our interviews in connection with the various dimensions of the cultural revolution, our parliamentary correspondents spoke with Dr Rahchamani, the representative of the people of Sabzevar and deputy chairman of the Majlis health committee; Mas'ud Mozafari, a student involved in student issues; and a professor of law and political science at the University of Tehran.

It is hoped that the publication of the views and opinions of the representatives of the Majlis along with those of professors and students of the universities in the country will solve some of the problems of the concerned officials.

First, we spoke to Mozaffari, one of the students involved in student affairs. Concerning the relationship between the cultural revolution and the political and economic system of the society, he said:

In order to respond to this question, we must remember the atmosphere of the cultural revolution. After an ideological revolution, with the support of the blood of 70,000 martyrs under the leadership of the imam and reliance on ideology in the light of unity and the slogan of neither East nor West, which has become a harbinger of good news for all the oppressed and suffering people of the world, at this time, the country has chained the world-devouring United States, with its strong hands



and shattered the myth of its being undefeatable throughout the world. But, at this time, in the university, which manifested itself as an island in the heart of the endless ocean of the Hezbollah nation, the minigroups and dependent mercenaries began to sing other songs and depending on their kind of dependence, each tried to block the course of the revolution and create diversion. Perhaps the only place in which the revolution was not realized was the university. Hence, considering the very important role of the university, it was necessary for an essential change to take place in it in order to materialize the rule of the Hezbollah and to have the university, too, at the side of and in the service of the people. Of course, the rule of the Hezbollah would result in reforming the curriculum, which had previously been dictated to the universities by colonialists and implemented by their agents, and by training committed experts in the country and creating scientific and technical growth, the flood of currency leaving the country vis-a-vis importing technology and experts or the training of experts abroad would be prevented. By moving on the course of the revolution and self-sufficiency, essential changes in the economic areas would also ensue.

Then, concerning the changes in the universities after the cultural revolution and the degree of the success of the cultural revolution, he said:

The period since the cultural revolution must be divided into two distinct periods: The first period is from the closure of the universities to their reopening and the second from their reopening to the present.

In the first period, the rule of the Hezbollah over the universities materialized. With the establishment of the headquarters for the cultural revolution and the university crusade, the universities moved towards increased conformity with the Islamic revolution and major changes in their course and planning. The resources of the universities were mainly put at the service of the revolution, the imposed war, and so on. Naturally, due to the velocity of this revolutionary movement, we have witnessed disharmony and difficulties since the reopening of the universities. Gradually, the ministerial and bureaucratic system has once again been reinstated in the universities. Some of the elements who are not very congruent to the Islamic revolution have been strengthened in various areas, each in some manner or within their ability and responsibility engaging in disruptions, creating a climate, causing problems, sowing discontent and trying in any way possible to condemn the cultural revolution and its gains or at least question them. Of course, they are faced with the resistance of the Hezbollah forces of the universities and at the present, we are witnessing such conflicts. But, on the whole, in addition to the changes in the

curriculum and planning, the expulsion of the minigroups from the universities and changing the universities from an arena of invasion to an academic environment with its particular mission, at least one of the vital gains of the cultural revolution has been a movement towards Islamizing the universities.

#### Mission of the Students

Concerning the mission of the students in the country at present and the reason for their inactivity and lack of participation in various issues, Mozaffari said:

Perhaps the most tangible duty of students consists briefly of providing for the needs of the Islamic Republic in terms of specialists and resolving the scientific and technical needs of the country in its various dimensions (that is, the training of physicians, teachers, engineers, managers, and so on, who are committed as well as providing industrial, agricultural and other resources). But this duty is not and should not be in conflict with their missions, including research and efforts to eliminate the political, social and economic problems of the country. Hence, the students must also be active in these areas. Although several factors, the most important of which is the temptation by the evildoers, have caused the students to be negligent to some extent of these important issues. Thank God, with the blessing of the being of the imam and his guidance, particularly during the recent Majlis elections, the way for the activities of students has been opened to some extent and activities have taken place which, God willing, will expand. But it is a fact that after the capture of the spy nest and the cultural revolution, due to the severe blows that the superpowers, particularly the criminal United States and its domestic elements, such as minigroups, the lovers of the West and those who believe in the West, received from the Hezbollah students, in various ways and under various pretexts, they try to eliminate them from the political and social scene of the country and try to prevent their becoming powerful in the universities and prevent their being considered as an active, thinking and committed force in the society. Of course, in this area, perhaps some other factors, including the activities of many committed students in the revolutionary institutions, such as the Guards Corps and the crusade and even the administrative organization of the country, as well as the length of the educational period due to the closure of the universities for one or two years, have been influential, but they have not played a vital role. In any case, this deviant and poisonous idea that the student must not interfere in political issues is undoubtedly taken from colonialist brains, no matter who states it, and its ultimate aim is to keep the committed forces away from the political scene, to create a void which will enable the Eastern and Western

colonialists to play their pieces and take over the administration of affairs.

We asked him about the uprooting of the overvaluing of academic degrees and the solution to this problem.

He said: The problem of overvaluing academic degrees is one of the most delicate tricks of the enemies of the revolution. The liberals and those hand-trained by the West are its main advocates. Of course, the issue is always raised under the euphemism of specialization and the use of experts. Here, two important issues must be noted. First, the issue of expertise and experts is separate from degrees and titles. Unfortunately, perhaps no proper division is made in this regard. We have suffered many blows in this area. Suppose a building engineer is appointed as a principle of a school without any teaching or administrative experience and claims that he is educated and an expert. Will we get a desirable result from such an action?

#### Need for Committed Experts

The second issue is that a committed expert must be employed and grow. As the imam said: Even an expert who is not hostile must be employed under supervision and made use of until we have so many committed experts that we no longer need those who are not committed. But this does not mean that anyone with a degree must be employed or be put in a position of power. For instance, not only is a professor who tells a brother student that he must shave his beard before he will give him a test, or tells a sister student that she must keep her head up and remove her veil so that he can see how she pronounces words--such instances have been observed in the universities--not useful to the Republic, but the student that he trains cannot be a desirable expert. Is there any doubt that, for instance, the United States is prepared to place its best experts (Americans or Iranians in appearance who are hand-trained by the United States) in our country, provided we put our affairs in the hands of these experts who are truly very specialized?

On the whole, the solution is in separating degrees from expertise and the proper, calculated use of specialization and experts.

Concerning the strong and weak points of the educational changes in the universities, Mas'ud Mozaffari said:

On the whole, it can be said that if the educational programs of the headquarters for the cultural revolution are implemented properly, our university educated people will be highly respected in the international circles, in terms of education and scholarship. But in the form that some programs are presently

implemented, these programs will not have desirable results. For instance, in the oppressed areas, on the holidays there are intensive classes from 8 am to 10 pm with professors flown in (a professor goes to these areas by airplane to teach in a city and returns after his class). In this regard, questions can be raised on several accounts. First, has sufficient attention been paid to the various dimensions of the needs of the country (for instance, in training technicians mostly in industries and agriculture and physicians for villages)? Secondly, are the existing resources in the present executive organizations (the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education) capable of carrying out these programs? Thirdly, what is the duty of the students given this volume of lessons and the existing weaknesses (in terms of professors, books, teaching aids, dormitories, and so on)?

In conclusion, concerning the role of the executive arm of the cultural revolution, he said:

The executive arms of the cultural revolution are officially and organizationally the university crusade and the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education. Due to its particular makeup and some problems, the first institution has been established and grown, even though many executive affairs must be carried out through the channel of the Ministry. Thus far, there have been strengths and weaknesses at various junctures. But, undoubtedly, it cannot secure the goals of the cultural revolution in all dimensions, including imposing the Islamic revolution over the universities or placing the universities alongside the people and at the service of the people, particularly in connection with the imposed war.

The unofficial executive arms of the cultural revolution (some organizational, such as the Islamic societies, and some non-organizational) are the Hezbollah forces, including professors, employees and students, who must continue in the same way as when they followed the directives of the imam in founding and initiating this movement, listening for his instructions and preventing any sort of deviation or pause on this course.

Here, it is necessary to request of the honorable members of the supreme council of the cultural revolution who are responsible for the perpetuation of this sacred and blessed movement that, by paying attention to and strongly supporting the Hezbollah forces of the universities (including the university crusade and the Islamic societies), who are the true protectors of the Islamic revolution and Islamic culture, they seriously prevent the growth of the opportunist and counterrevolutionary forces and their gaining power in the universities, because if the field is weakened or emptied of the the true sympathizers and self-sacrificers of the Islamic revolution and cultural revolution, we can have no hope of Islamizing the universities and ultimately



reforming the society, of self-sufficiency or of attaining the other sacred goals of the cultural revolution.

#### Interview with a University Professor

One of the professors of the Department of Law and Political Science of Tehran University responded to the questions of our correspondent in an interview. First, responding to a question concerning the relationship between the cultural revolution and the political and economic system of the society, he said:

I think every revolution that occurs has a particular intellectual system and, on the basis of those particular ideas, it rises up against the previously ruling regime. If we want to define what the previous regime had culturally, it left a material and spiritual legacy. The spiritual legacy is known as spiritual culture and the material legacy as material culture.

Every new regime that makes a revolution against a prior regime changes the previous spiritual and material legacy on the basis of its ideology. This is pervasive throughout the culture; it includes all aspects of human life. Therefore, the cultural revolution, before everything else, determines the economic and social lines of the future society on the basis of its own vision and plans its future course on the basis of that line. Given this definition, cultural revolution means economic, social and political revolution in a society; it cannot be otherwise. Therefore, cultural revolution means a system of economic, social and cultural conditions in the society and their establishment on the basis of the new ideological system.

Then, concerning the mission of the student in the country at the present, he said:

In my opinion, given the above issues, it can be said that there may have been weaknesses in the cultural revolution. While our country suffers under the severe injustice of the West, preserving the political and economic independence of the country is impossible except by primarily protecting and preserving the growth of national independence in the universities. But, unfortunately, we rarely see the universities paying attention to the growth of the vision of students.

#### Unity of the Theological Centers and Universities

Concerning the relationship between the theological centers and the universities and the unity of these two strata, he said:

Bringing the universities closer to the theological centers and vice versa is possible through scholarly exchanges. Both these sections must want to become intellectually closer and come



together in a center and the professors must state their views in that scholarly center. It is through complementary scholarly views that professors in these fields will come closer. But it seems that little work has taken place in this area. Of course, this does not mean that various seminars have not been held. But it seems that, given the results of the seminars, only general points have been discussed in these seminars; both sides have dealt with generalities without ever discussing the issues scientifically and in detail in order to clarify the different intellectual factors on these two sides and creating unity. In my opinion, unity is possible when it goes beyond talk and reaches action and scholarly discussions on the part of both sides.

In connection with the roots of the overvaluing of educational degrees and how to solve this problem, he said:

In my opinion, this problem depends on how the cultural revolution, in all its vast dimensions, is implemented. If the cultural revolution is implemented properly, the problem of overvaluing degrees can be set aside; but if it is not, the basis for selecting individuals will once again be degrees, as we witness today. Unfortunately, the institutions that have been created to eliminate degrees themselves emphasize degrees. Of course, in the long term, care must be taken. If we are able to implement the correct values of our ideology in the society and the society realizes that our ideological values are moving and growing, no one will pursue degrees. But, if connections replace precepts, everyone will try to obtain a degree for himself, in whatever form.

In conclusion, concerning the positive and negative points of the educational changes in the universities, he said:

On the basis of the definition I gave earlier, it must be studied whether the cultural revolution has or has not intended to have those characteristics that I mentioned. If studies are made, this issue will be clarified.

Of course, it can be said that in terms of some aspects of the earlier definition, steps have been taken and in some, no steps have been taken at all.

Response of the Party Chairman of the Health Committee

Concerning the relationship of the cultural revolution and the political and economic system of the society, Dr Mohammad Reza Rahchamani said:

The cultural revolution, which consists of fundamental and profound changes in the thought and actions of the Islamic

society, has a close, fundamental relationship with the political and economic system of the society. Essentially, the foundation of the political and economic system of a society is made up of its culture, and the culture of a society can train either weak, comfort-seeking, indifferent and dependent human beings or self-reliant, independent and brave ones.

But, as for the relationship that the cultural revolution can have with the economic system of a society, as you know, one of the slogans of the Islamic revolution and one of the principles of the Constitution is economic independence. One of the elements that can play an essential and effective role in the economy of a society is economic manpower in various specialized fields as well as economic management, which is responsible for devising the economic policies of a country. In this connection, we can move towards economic independence and self-sufficiency and attain it when, first of all, our economic manpower, which is trained in the universities and educational institutions, consists of purged forces. Then, the thought that we are unable to be self-sufficient in the economic dimension and free of economic dependence will be driven out of our minds and human beings will become independent, rely on God and resistant. Now, if our universities are Islamic and the Westernized and Easternized ideas, which are, unfortunately, the legacy of the time of the tyrant, do not rule in our universities, it can be expected that in the future our industry, agriculture, and so on will be independent. If in the environment of our universities the Westernized and Easternized ideas rule as before, and as before the Islamic and Hezbollah forces are alienated, we cannot expect economic independence.

Concerning the relationship between the cultural revolution and the political system of the society, I must say that one of the factors that can play a role in the political system of the society is the management and the executive forces ruling the administrative organization of a society. These managers and executive forces are usually trained in the educational environments and can play an effective role in the domestic and foreign policy of the regime of the Islamic Republic of Iran. If these administrators who are trained in the educational environments are not purged and are not raised as independent, brave, self-reliant individuals who rely on God, naturally, they can have a destructive role in the policies of the country and can, as the imam said, drag us into the lap of the West or the East and make this country dependent.

Then we asked: In your opinion, since the cultural revolution, what changes have taken place in the universities in the country, how successful do you see the cultural revolution, and what programs are necessary to strengthen it? In response, he said:

Before answering this question, it is necessary to thank and praise the honorable headquarters of the cultural revolution, which has truly done its best to Islamize the educational programs and the environment of the universities.

But the changes that have taken place since the cultural revolution in the universities consist of four parts, as follows:

A. Political: Our universities, which during the time of the tyrant were dependent on the tyrannical regime of colonialism, were, unfortunately, invaded by the minigroups after the victory of the Islamic revolution and, unfortunately, the centers which should have taken steps in keeping with the Hezbollah nation to advance the goals of the Islamic revolution became fields for the invasions of the minigroups and places against the Hezbollah nation. One of the tangible effects of the cultural revolution has been the elimination of the minigroups from the universities and one of those effects was that the universities came into the hands of the Hezbollah nation, the committed university forces and the governing power of the committed Hezbollah nation in the policy making of the universities.

B. The social dimension: The universities must always be at the service of the people. With the cultural revolution, they were once again put at the service of the people and the Hezbollah nation. With the establishment of the university crusade, these protectors of the Islamic revolution in the university environment, the spirit of generosity and self-sacrifice was born among the students, professors and employees of the universities and was strengthened. Many groups of students, professors and employees alongside the glory-creating warriors of Islam began to confront the aggressive enemy and defend the sanctuary of Islam and the Islamic homeland and many of them attained martyrdom.

3 [as published]. Observing Islamic signs such as veiling and public morality in the universities began and with the establishment of classes on Islamic ideology, culture and knowledge by the university crusade, the construction of the existing forces in the universities began.

C. The economic dimension: The changes that have taken place in the economic sector since the cultural revolution took place in the universities are briefly as follows. After the cultural revolution, the spirit of innovation and research thrived in the universities and the university people displayed their hidden talents in this connection. Many things were discovered and goods were manufactured which can in themselves be an effective step in freeing us from a dependent economy.

D. The educational sector: In the educational sector also changes have taken place. An example is the change and reform in

some of the educational programs, the increase in the length of some fields, the elimination of some extra courses and the addition of some necessary courses.

To deepen the cultural revolution, it is necessary to pay attention to the following points.

1. It is necessary to entrust the responsibility of the executive arms of the cultural revolution to individuals who are committed and combative and who have suffered in the course of the revolution and who have a good record, in fact, those who have been reared by the Islamic revolution and have a deep faith and belief in the necessity of the cultural revolution in the universities. It is not advisable to confer the executive responsibilities of the cultural revolution on indifferent, so-called academic administrators. If the operators and honorable representatives of the imam in the supreme council of the cultural revolution do not pay attention to this important issue and the administration of universities is not given to Hezbollah members and experts who are neither Westernized nor Easternized, the perpetuation and strengthening of the cultural revolution cannot be guaranteed.

2. It is necessary to strengthen even more the university crusades as the revolutionary institutions which have risen from the heart of the cultural revolution, which are the center of the Hezbollah forces in the universities. The supreme council of the cultural revolution must consider the university crusade as one of the executive arms of the cultural revolution in the universities. It is by no means advisable to combine the university crusade, which is a revolutionary institution, with the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education. The independence of the cultural crusade must be preserved.

#### Islamic Societies and the Nuclei of Supervision

3. It is necessary to strengthen more than ever before the Islamic societies of the universities as the supervisory nuclei of the Islamic revolution in the university environment, and the officials must prevent the isolation and rejection of the Hezbollah forces who are members of the Islamic societies.

4. Considering that in order to Islamize the university environment, the presence of committed personnel (professors, students and employees) in the university environment is necessary, the committees for the selection of professors and students must be strengthened more than ever before to decisively confront those who through creating a false atmosphere blow out of proportion a few possible mistakes on the part of the selection committees, create doubts about them, and try to weaken these institutions, those who can be said to want nothing but the



rule of Western ideas in the universities. It is by no means advisable to leave the selection of professors to the universities and the faculty of colleges.

5. In order to train the committed Hezbollah faculty needed by the universities, in addition to strengthening the teacher training college, it is necessary for officials to send a number of Hezbollah university graduates to continue their education and acquire expertise in various fields needed by the universities by providing them with educational grants to study abroad so that after a few years the universities of the country would not face a shortage of committed faculty members.

6. It is necessary that the honorable members of the supreme council of the cultural revolution perpetuate and deepen the cultural revolution in the university environment and also prepare programs to spread and deepen the cultural revolution in the whole society, so that, God willing, with the help of Almighty God, some of the moral problems that are observed here and there today will be eliminated.

In conclusion, the deputy chairman of the health committee said in regards to the reasons for the inactivity and lack of participation of students in various socio-political issues in the country as well as the main mission of the students:

Today's mission of the Muslim students in the country is different from their mission during the time of the tyrant. Today, our beloved students, who have always been the main forces in the movement of the universities and institutions of higher education, in addition to acquiring knowledge and expertise, must make more effort than those who follow the Western or Eastern lines, and they are also responsible for the following duties:

1. Efforts and movement to advance the goals of the Islamic revolution and universalizing the Islamic revolution in harmony with the Hezbollah nation as well as supporting and helping the management of the imposed war of Iraq against Iran.

2. Efforts to purge themselves and guide other students.

3. One of the main missions of students at the present is active involvement in the social and political issues of the country. In this connection, organizing seminars and gatherings or various round-table discussions can be appropriate steps in offering ways and proposals to solve the various problems of the society. In short, it must be said that the universities and students must not be indifferent to various issues or what occurs in the country and must not only pursue studies and the acquisition of degrees.



4. Efforts to perpetuate and deepen the cultural revolution in the educational environments and protect the gains of the Islamic revolution.

5. Muslim students must supervise the ideological lines and the socio-political atmosphere of the universities and institutions of higher education. They must carefully monitor the surreptitious and conspiratorial acts which are seen in the universities and inform the officials, particularly the honorable representatives of the imam in the supreme council of the cultural revolution and the honorable representatives of the revered religious jurist, Grand Ayatollah Montazeri, and have constant contact with them.

In short, it can be said that the students, while they are striving to acquire knowledge and expertise, must not neglect their main mission as Muslim individuals, which is active involvement in the political, social and economic issues of the country and preparing and offering solutions and proposals for them. They must not stand aside and must not be indifferent to the various problems that occur or exist. They must not merely consider studying, which is also necessary, as their main duty. Rather, as individuals conscious of the issues of the society, they are expected to help the government and officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran in solving the problems of the country.

10,000

CSO: 4640/567

IRAN

TEHRAN POLITICAL COMMENTARY ON IRAQI 'EXPANSIONISM'

LD251319 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 25 May 85

/Text/ "Expansionism and fomenting tension constitute the foundation for safeguarding the existence of the Iraqi regime" is the title of our first political commentary today.

Throughout history totalitarian and despotic regimes have constantly sought their salvation in fomenting tension and expansionism, and by resorting to ideas enunciated by certain theorists who by various means justify aggression against the rights of others under the pretext of furthering certain ostensibly humanitarian aspirations, have subjected the sanctity of other countries to aggression.

The Iraqi Ba'th regime, too, after Saddam's leadership was able to occupy the main seat of power in the Iraqi Ba'th Party, showed itself to be a suitable tool for translating into action the expansionist designs of the theorists of this lie. That regime's threats against its neighbor Kuwait or its differences with Iran prior to the Islamic Revolution culminating in the Algiers accord in themselves demonstrated the direction of the movement of the Iraqi Ba'th party.

However, that regime's aggression against Iranian soil during the Islamic Revolution has demonstrated that that regime is not only taking steps toward its expansionist aims, but in order to attain its goals it is devoting its entire power to serving world arrogance; this in itself has been an indication of a new phase in attaining that regime's goals at a time when facts have indicated the aggressive propensities of the Iraqi regime /sentence as heard/. Simultaneously with that regime's attack on the soil of our homeland, propaganda disseminated by world arrogance began attacks on the aspirations and aims of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, and by distorting the existing realities accused the Islamic Republic of Iran of expansionism and assailing the rights of others. However, the Islamic Republic of Iran, throughout the imposed war, by destroying the foundation of the existence of the Iraqi regime which is none other than aggression against the sanctity of the territory of others, not only was able to drag that regime to the brink of its fall but thanks to the daily increasing power which it obtained during this war it demonstrated that were it not subjected to aggression by its neighbors it would not commit aggression against them.

In his Friday prayers sermon yesterday, Tehran's Friday imam, therefore candidly proclaimed: As long as a threat is not posed by our neighbors we would not do anything against them. He emphasized the fact that the Iraqi regime and the Israeli Zionist regime are two regimes which are angered and disturbed by any move with regard to recognizing the power and greatness of Iran's Islamic Republican system.

Now, despite the fact that Iran's Islamic revolution has dealt some deadly blows at the body of the Iraqi regime, that regime continues to show an inclination towards fomenting insecurity in the countries of the region. Therefore, the time has now come when those countries which seek stability and peace in the region should contemplate the clarity of the facts and should acquaint world public opinion with the roots of crises and tension in the region, in other words, the Saddamist regime. Threats and desperate efforts by the United States would definitely not be able to prevent the forthcoming fall of Saddam, which is seriously under consideration by U.S. ruling quarters.

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IRAN

**BANK OFFICIAL ASSESSES NEW BANKING SYSTEM, RELATED ISSUES**

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 2 May 85 p 18

[Text] On the occasion of Labor Day and the anniversary of the martyrdom of Professor Motahhari, yesterday Dr Nurbakhsh, President of the Central Bank, spoke at the 'Alameh Tabataba'i College of Economics.

During these ceremonies, after reading several verses from the glorious words of God a statement from the university crusade was read connected with 11 Ordibehesht [1 May 1985] Labor Day and the anniversary of the martyrdom of Professor Motahhari, poems were read, and then Dr Mohsen Nurbakhsh, President of the Central Bank, examined the changes in the banking system since the revolution, the accomplishments of the first year under the new banking law, and the bank's role in expanding the country's economy. He began by discussing the disorderly state of the banking system in the years 1356 [21 March 1977 - 20 March 1978] and 1357 [21 March 1978 - 20 March 1979]. At that time it was under special pressure arising from a lack of public confidence in the banking system; this caused reduced deposits and bank reserves, and an increase in the minting of currency notes from 408 billion rials in the year 1356 [21 March 1977 - 20 March 1978] to 906 billion rials in the year 1357 [21 March 1978 - 20 March 1979].

Concerning problems since the revolution, he said: Problems in the banking system since the revolution include the multiplicity of banks, the reduction of the government's budget and the effects of that on the increase in cash in circulation in society, the simultaneous presence of two economically destructive phenomena, stagnation and inflation as well as an imbalance between bank reserves and expenditures and a surplus of reserves. Beginning in the year 1360 [21 March 1981 - 20 March 1982] serious work was done to change the bank to conform to the criteria of the Islamic republic.

In the year 1361 [21 March 1982 - 20 March 1983] the percentage of deposits reached its legal maximum (27 and 25 percent) and surplus reserves therefore decreased to 450 billion rials from 700 billion rials. Despite this, the primary consideration, in view of the complexity of the banking system, was still the new banking law, compiling and enacting it for implementation. The delicacy of this task is clearer in light of the fact that the bank had 20 million depositors with five billion rials in deposits. He then discussed the difficulties and problems that existed at the time the new banking law was being written and compiled, the Imam's help solving them, the difference between the reserves of the new system with those of the past, and the accomplishments of the first year of implementation of the new banking law.

## One Year's Achievements

According to the most recent statistics, fortunately private sector deposits went from 5,600 billion rials in Esfand of 1362 [20 February – 20 March 1983] to 5,875 billion rials in Bahman of 1364 [21 January – 19 February 1985]. An interesting figure is the 332 billion rials collected in interest-free loans, 60 billion rials of which (50 percent of all agricultural credit) were used in the agricultural sector. In addition, 859 billion rials were collected as short-term capital investment deposits and 581 billion rials were collected in long-term capital investment deposits. The growth in cash in circulation in the year 1363 [21 March 1984 – 20 March 1985] was around three or four percent, while it was 18 percent in 1362 [21 March 1983 – 20 March 1984] and more than 20 percent in the years before that. Financial policies and government expenses played a very sensitive role in this decreased growth. Another result of the new law was the balancing of bank reserves and expenditures, with surplus reserves reaching 45 billion rials, while the minting and control of currency notes reached 50 percent of the figure for 1362 [21 March 1983 – 20 March 1984] in 1363 [21 March 1984 – 20 March 1985].

He then discussed the role and importance of the pattern for economic expansion in the country. He said: The design and establishment of a pattern for economic expansion is one of the most essential issues in economic planning. If the pattern is not successfully established, the country will assuredly become involved in a series of day-to-day measures; the reserves that could be accumulated with a special pattern will be used in a series of day-to-day measures due to the lack of a plan, and the extent of the problems that will develop is not clear.

This very situation with petroleum and its future poses a danger for us. The petroleum market has changed since the last decade when it was a seller's market; it is now a buyer's market. Another point which makes the lack of a pattern for expansion a more acute problem and makes its study a more serious concern is the gap between developing countries and industrial countries. Is this gap increasing or decreasing? Are we increasing it or decreasing it? We must understand the speed of the world's growth and the speed of our own growth.

We believe that the pattern for expansion must conform to economic realities and the pertinent goals; if the rate of growth is to be higher than the rate of inflation, then inflation itself will become a greater priority than expansion aims. In the year 1362 [21 March 1983 – 20 March 1984] growth of the gross domestic product was at 12.4 percent, but at the same time inflation was about 17.7 percent. How was this growth distributed among various sectors, and was it desirable? Unfortunately, there was negative growth in the agricultural and mines sectors; likewise, there was no growth in the water, electrical power, and gas sectors. Most of the growth was in the industrial sector at 19.6 percent, and it was 18.6 percent in the services sector. The commercial sector makes up 48.8 percent of the services sector.

In conclusion, he answered a number of questions. He said: The value of currency notes and coins in the hands of individuals went from 1,913 billion rials in Esfand of 1362 [20 Feb – 20 March 1983] to 1,862 billion rials in Bahman of 1363 [21 Jan – 19 Feb 1984]; this was a 2.7 percent decrease.

Concerning the procedure for calculating profits on short- and long-term investment deposits, Dr Nurbakhsh added: They have been calculated in light of the anticipated average profit for such figures in other types of contracts.



With regard to the control of the correctness of debt-purchasing contracts, he said: There is no difficulty with this type of contract from the standpoint of religious law. The volume of debts purchased is about 10 percent of the amount of all other contracts. Most of the contracts activated have been for installment payment sales, which were about 37 percent of the total. In the year 1364 [21 March 1985 – 20 March 1986] the debt-purchasing will be limited to cases where other kinds of contracts cannot be used.

9310

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IRAN

## EXPORT INCREASE GIVEN PRIORITY BY MINES, METALS MINISTRY

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 2 May 85 p 18

[Text] Zanzan--KEYHAN Correspondent--Engineer Nili, Minister of Mines and Metals, went to Zanzan to study Zanzan's mining problems and to participate in a seminar for officials of this ministry.

The third joint seminar for officials and general managers of the Ministry of Mines and Metals was held at the Saharvardi Library hall in Zanzan attended by Engineer Nili Minister of Industry, the Friday imam, and the Governor-General. At the beginning of the seminar Ayatollah Musavi, Friday Imam, and Shadnush, Governor-General of Zanzan, discussed Labor Day and the importance of the country's mines. Then Engineer Nili gave a talk. He said:

We now have 400 inactive mines in the country which must be activated. The identification of these inactive mines and the establishment of mines and metals factories are among the responsibilities of you general managers. He added: Increasing exports is one of our top priorities; in the year 1363 [21 March 1984 - 20 March 1984] exports were four times greater than in 1362 [21 March 1983 - 20 March 1984]. This is not enough, and we have named 1364 [21 March 1985 - 20 March 1986] The Year of Exports.

In conclusion he asked the general managers to avoid the pointless extraction of ores.

Continuing his trip, yesterday afternoon Engineer Nili and his companions visited various parts of the Dandi and Mo'ab lead and zinc factories of Anguran, and he offered guidance on the maximum utilization of the Anguran mines.

He then appeared before the assembled workers of the Dandi factory and gave a talk in which he offered Labor Day greetings. He said: The system of the Islamic republic defends and protects the oppressed, and especially laborers. The guild policies of the government of the Islamic republic, and its manner of passing laws and distributing current and development budgets are in the interests of this great class, because our revolution is delegated by the toiling masses.

At the conclusion of the ceremonies a resolution in nine articles was read by one of the workers, in which it was announced that workers would continue to strive for economic self-sufficiency, and officials were asked to form workers' mobilization units.

9310

CSO: 4640/565

IRAN

CLANDESTINE RADIO REPORTS OPPOSITION STATEMENT ON GROWING RESISTANCE

LD242233 (Clandestine) Radio of the Iranian Toilers in Persian 0230 GMT 24 May 85

/Excerpts/ Dear compatriots: The historical document entitled Victory to the People's Struggle for Toppling the Islamic Republic of Iran's Regime, issued by the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party of Iran and the central committee of the majority wing of Feda'iyun Khalq-e Iran, has been released at a time when the people are rising in our troubled homeland.

This valuable document rightly points to an increase in alertness of workers toward the class-oriented objectives of the ruling class, saying: The strike efforts over the last 2 years and the raising of political and guilds demands are new prominent phenomena in the workers' movement. /passage omitted/

Giving an accurate assessment of potential and actual readiness of other social, national and democratic classes, this scientific document explains the sensitive movement of the masses now in this way: workers' strikes in various industrial fields; peasant resistance to repression by big landlords; protests against and clashes with the repressive organs; street demonstrations; negative struggle in the form of go-slows and irregular attendance at work; the increasing displeasure of the masses of people at the continued war which manifests itself in antiwar demonstrations, soldiers deserting, the refusal of young men to do military service, and dozens of other phenomena are indicative of increasing resistance from the people. In other words, the important and historical statement emphasizes the undeniable fact that the depth, extent, and severity of the crisis which has engulfed all society has placed our homeland on the threshold of a serious upheaval. /passage omitted/

The statement further stresses the need for immediate measures to mingle with the risen masses; that measures must be taken to join and lead the revolutionary movement of the people who have become disillusioned with the war, with repression, injustice, and oppression. The statement urges that all the experiences gained over the past 6 years must be shared with the people and the true faces of all the enemies of the people must be exposed to the alert people, so that they may act more alertly. /passage omitted/

These are the urgent guidelines of the historical document of the Central Committee of the Tudeh Party of Iran and the Central Committee of the majority wing of Feda'iyun Khalq-e Iran, addressed to all the revolutionaries of the homeland, the revolutionaries who are fighting to overthrow the Islamic Republic regime.

CSO: 4640/595

IRAN

TEHRAN REPORTS ON FRIDAY PRAYER SERMONS IN LEBANON

LD251401 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 25 May 85

/Text/ In the Friday prayers' political-religious ceremonies in Lebanon, the preachers, while expressing their opposition to the current battles in the Palestinian camps in Beirut and its southern district, stressed the need for Islamic unity in order to confront the Zionist enemy and world arrogance, and called for an end to the battle among Muslims.

According to the Central News Unit's report from Beirut, 'Allamah /religious scholar/ Seyyed Mohammad Hoseyn Fadlallah, declared his opposition to the current war in the Palestinian camps, saying that it was having a debilitating impact on the Islamic and internal forces and that it would create many problems. He stated: /announcer-read throughout/: this war will not only fail to succeed but is certain to end in defeat. 'Allamah Fadlallah's Friday sermon was delivered in the Imam Rida Mosque in the southern district of Beirut.

Continuing yesterday's sermon, 'Allamah Fadlallah condemned the compromising policies adopted by 'Arafat and the missile raids on the Muslim dwelling regions of Beirut and its southern districts, and called on all the groups to end their wars and instead rise against the Zionist enemy which is still occupying sections of territory in the Jabal-Amil.

Also in yesterday's prayer sermons, Shaykh Sa'id Sha'ban, the leader of the Monotheist Islamic Movement in Tripoli, north Lebanon, while condemning the battles going on in the Palestinian camps, considered them as deviations from divine religious law. He stated: It is these kinds of deviations which have enabled the enemy to enter our country and gain hegemony over the lands of the Muslims. Shaykh Sha'ban added: These clashes go towards the realization of the aims of Israel which are to disperse the Islamic front and to defeat Islamic unity.

Shaykh Mahir Hammud too, member of the Muslim ulema of Lebanon, in the course of the Friday prayer in the city of Sidon, south Lebanon, described the current battles in the Palestinian camps as a great conspiracy against Islam and Muslims, and stated: If the parties involved in this battle were to have followed in practice the precepts of Islam, they would never have been involved in a war like this.

CSO: 4640/593

IRAN

NEW MEASURES, ACTIVITIES OF SUPREME JUDICIAL COUNCIL ANNOUNCED

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 27 Apr 85 p 3

[Interview with Supreme Judicial Council spokesman Hojjat ol-Eslam Morteza Moqtada'i by media reporters on 25 Apr 85; place not specified]

[Text] Hojjat ol-Eslam Morteza Moqtada'i, a member of and spokesman for the supreme judicial council, took part last Thursday in a press, radio and television interview and explained to reporters the most important issues discussed last week in the supreme judicial council.

First, concerning the general statistics of the Justice Department during the period 21 March 1984-20 March 1985 and the examination of the resources during the period 21 March 1985-20 March 1986, he said: The statistics that have arrived from some provinces concerning investigations by the courts in the course of one year have been very significant. According to some of the directors general of provincial Justice Departments, up to about 90 percent of their problems have been solved. For example, according to statistics from Qom, the total number of cases in the courts during the 1984-85 period was 34,780, of which all but 4,117 have been studied and closed. This shows the very great success of the courts in investigating the cases.

Then, concerning the implementation of the ruling and divine punishments, including those for adultery, sodomy, theft, alcohol consumption, retribution and compensations, Mr Moqtada'i said: Of the 445 cases in which theft had been proven, 6 cases of severance of hands were approved in the Supreme Court. The rest, in the opinion of the supreme court, did not meet the requirements for carrying out this sentence and were consequently given a reduced sentence.

Of the 192 cases of sodomy, one case was proven and an execution ruling was issued. Of the 224 cases of illicit relations, such as adultery, 160 cases of divine ruling were carried out; in addition, 42 cases were sentenced to prison and 2 cases of



adultery between married persons were sentenced to stoning, which have been approved by the Supreme Court and are awaiting execution.

Of the 108 cases of premeditated murder, 51 were given suspended sentences upon the forgiveness of the guardians of the victim, 19 cases were retributed by hanging, with the permission of the guardians of the victim, and 38 cases of executions in the form of retribution are ready to be carried out.

He added: Considering the careful examination of the general statistics of the courts which will be carried out, the Supreme Judicial Council has decided to raise the quality and quantity of output of the courts in investigating the cases through the payment of overtime. For this purpose, certain statistical forms are sent to the Justice Departments, which the directors of Justice Departments are responsible for completing and sending to the capital monthly. We hope to be able, God willing, to have a comprehensive Islamic judicial system throughout the society.

Concerning fighting prohibited acts and prostitution, the spokesman for the Supreme Judicial Council made some reminders and, emphasizing the increase in the patrol forces for the instruction to do good and prevent doing evil in all aspects, said: In the area of fighting prostitution and prohibited acts, during nine months of the past year, arrests were made. Besides the cases in which guidance and discussions have been useful, 3,629 persons were arrested and sent to the proper authorities, including the Public Prosecutor's Office, the Revolution Prosecutor's Office, the military prosecutor's office, the Guards Corps, and the narcotics prosecutor's office. Some of them were released to their families after being advised and guided. But, since the work was not extensive in Tehran, it was not effective and desirable and resulted in offending the Hezbollah nation. God willing, by adding to the resources, both in terms of manpower and other material resources, this group will always have the presence in public places, gatherings and streets that is necessary. The Supreme Judicial Council will, if necessary, open other interrogation branches and courts.

Referring to the presence of the minister of information in the sessions of the Council, he said: Concerning the cooperation between the judicial branch and the Ministry of Information, we have reached agreements in numerous instances. It was determined that a branch of the Prosecutor's Office would be established for the judicial affairs of the Ministry of Information and judicial agencies would be appointed when necessary by the Council and introduced to that Ministry.

In the conclusion of the interview, Hojjat ol-Eslam Moqtada'i said concerning the temporary cultivation of agricultural lands:

In a circular letter by the Supreme Judicial Council concerning the temporary cultivation of lands, it was decided that lands that were in the hands of farmers during the years from 21 March 1979 to 20 March 1981 and during the period 21 March 1981-20 March 1982 in Kurdistan would remain as they were and the Justice Department courts are not authorized to investigate such cases until the law has been devised and ratified by the Majlis. Because numerous conflicts have occurred between farmers and landlords, due to the law not being ratified, which have stopped cultivation in various areas, the Supreme Judicial Council approved the establishment of a headquarters in Tehran to investigate the problems of such lands. With the establishment of mobile and special courts, Article 49 of the Constitution will be implemented and experts and needed registration and other officials will be sent to the region to investigate such lands and to resolve the problems on the basis of religious and legal regulations, and when necessary the magistrate will arbitrate the matter legally.

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CSO: 4640/572

IRAN

# TOP OFFICIALS ADDRESS COUNTRY'S MEDICAL PROBLEMS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 27 Apr 85 p 3

[Text] Physicians, dentists, pharmacists, professors, chairmen of medical schools, executive health and treatment officials, members of the society of physicians of the Islamic Republic of Iran and a group of physicians participating in the seminar to examine the medical issues and problems of the country met with Hojjat ol-Eslam Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, the president; Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the speaker of the Majlis; and Engineer Musavi, the prime minister.

In this meeting, the president, the speaker of the Majlis, and the prime minister spoke on medical problems and the sensitivity of the medical profession.

In this meeting, the president said: Because of your humane responsibility, you physicians have the right to question the world on its silence in regards to the use of chemical weapons and ask the concerned assemblies and medical unions of the world if they do not believe that this knowledge, in fact, the field of medicine is to discover the forces in nature in order to treat mankind? Did the medical assemblies of the world not pledge and did they not take an oath to work for human beings and humanity?

Ask them: Why did you encourage with your silence the violators of human rights? You could be the resonant voice of your nation.

Then, referring to the distinguished status of the medical profession, he said: In our opinion, a physician is not a person who has the profession of medicine. He is a scholar whose knowledge is combined with skill and morality. The medical profession is a sacred movement and its high status is due to dealing with human beings.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Khamene'i added: It is a false statement that physicians are not respected in the Republic. We value the scholars and physicians more than anywhere else. You physicians are acquainted with the medical problems and difficulties to some extent. One of these problems is that there were some among you who did not meet the people's expectations. Of course, these were in the minority and they left after the revolution and there was no justification for their leaving.

Addressing the physicians, the president said: Ask these people why they left Iran. Did the people not need them? Did this nation not pay their expenses? Were they not respected?

In any case, it goes against true values to leave when the country needs physicians.

In conclusion, Hojjat ol-Eslam Khamene'i said: More painful than the shortage of physicians is their disproportionate distribution. In Tehran, there is a glut of physicians while most parts of the country have no physicians. This problem must be eliminated.

#### Statements of the Speaker of the Majlis

In a meeting with the same group of physicians, Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani said: We must do something to ensure that humane sparks constantly create relations with the patients of the lower levels of the society. You must start a very serious task. The friends who work with us in the Islamic Republican Party especially must look for a serious solution to accomplish this task in the revolution.

We had many physicians who in the course of the few war years truly forgot themselves, went to the fronts and were martyred or injured, those whose practices were very successful here but who volunteered and were hired to work there. Of course, there have always been such physicians in the history of medicine who had lofty ideals. I do not know to what extent your efforts are effective on the existing trainees, but at least for the future, we must make plans in our selection and training for the medical schools so that our medical training scene becomes a humanitarian force with people who possess human compassion.

Then, explaining the duties of the physicians, the speaker of the Majlis said: Now, we do not want to enforce the law and use force to coerce the just distribution of medicine among the people. Essentially, we have no inclination and do not want it to be so in this profession. There must be a choice. This is where the law will help you somewhat and your own actions can be a better model. As far as I know, with many of you, your life can be a model for others.

In conclusion, Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani said: Another thing that we expect is more effort in training physicians and other manpower, and these seminars and consultations must yield fruit. We are very much behind in this regard. You know the needs of the country. We must tell the people about these problems and also do something about them ourselves.

#### Statements of the Prime Minister

Engineer Musavi, the prime minister, also said in a meeting with this group of physicians who participated in the seminar on examining the medical issues and problems of the country: The training of committed Muslim physicians can help in the attainment of the grand ideals of the Islamic revolution and also have influence abroad.

In another part of his statements, the prime minister explained the exceptional position of our country among the world nations, the reliance of the Islamic Republic on its principles, ideals and beliefs, and the proud struggle against the oppressive forces, emphasized the stability of the economy of our country compared to other countries and said: Foreign news agencies want to stain this revolution through their great volume of news and to distort the facts before the public opinion of the nations. I do not think the volume of news that has been published concerning the Iranian revolution has happened with regard to any other country. It can be strongly documented that these news broadcasts are contrary to the realities of the Islamic revolution. They are even producing and showing films. For example, the issue that the regime of Saddam and some of the Western powers show as the crimes of our regime is a fabricated scene of a captive whose arms are pulled and severed by two cars. Recently, the war propaganda headquarters explained this story and it would be appropriate for broadcast by the Voice and Vision.

In conclusion, referring to the discussions in the Cabinet concerning the priority of the issue of health, the prime minister emphasized the interest and sensitivity of the government and the executive system in expanding this issue and pointed out the unified support of the government for medical issues.

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CSO: 4640/572



IRAN

ROLE OF COOPERATIVES IN COUNTRY'S ECONOMY

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 25 Apr 85 pp 18-19

[Text] Economic service. The seminar to study the role of the cooperative sector in the economy of the Islamic Republic concluded its work yesterday afternoon.

According to our KEYHAN reporter, in the concluding session of the seminar, first Hojjat ol-Eslam 'Amid Zanjani spoke in detail about the cases and problems involving the cooperatives and the views of religious law and religious jurisprudence, law and society concerning the cooperatives.

Then the round-table seminar was held, with the participation of Hojjat ol-Eslam Asadollah Bayat; brother Fo'ad Karimi, representative of the Majlis; Sazgarnezhad, director of the rural cooperative organization; and brother 'Elmi-Najafi, who expressed their views concerning the cooperatives.

The Nature of Cooperatives

According to this report, Hojjat ol-Eslam 'Amid Zanjani explained the nature of cooperatives and said: Before the issue of cooperatives is clarified in terms of their nature, many of the existing problems of the cooperatives will not be resolved. The first experience in every task, if it is logical and popular, will lead to its own solution.

But, if the first experience is undesirable and incorrect, it will always create problems. Unfortunately, this has been our experience with regard to the cooperatives in our society.

Our first experience with the cooperatives before the victory of the Islamic revolution and even early in the revolution and in the past years has not only not been beneficial but has created

some problems as well. Why? Because the model of the cooperatives had not been researched and studied in a calculated way on the basis of our ideological conditions, Islamic regulations, and our society and revolution.

For this reason, I believe that first we must have a correct analysis of cooperatives and then deal with its problems.

Hence, my first topic concerns an analysis of the cooperatives and the second, the problems of the cooperatives from the perspective of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Essentially, in the area of cooperatives, the Constitution, despite its characteristic generalizations, has at the same time given an implicit analysis of the cooperatives, as far as the Constitution can protect them.

The third topic of my statements concerns an examination of the problem from the perspective of Islamic jurisprudence, as far as my limited knowledge will allow me. And, finally, the last point is an answer to this question: How can the cooperatives be correctly put into operation under the existing conditions and where should we begin? With a red pen in regards to the past. In other words, the past must be forgotten and plans must be made anew. Also, how can this program be started, to implement the cooperatives religiously, legally and popularly in the society?

#### Cooperatives and the Economic Phenomenon

1. Usually, cooperatives are discussed as an economic phenomenon, that is, a means to be free of the negative and destructive consequences of the capitalist system in the society. Many believe that in order to modify the capitalist system, it is necessary to establish and operate cooperatives in the society.

If this is our perspective, cooperatives cannot bring their goals to fruition in a comprehensive and desirable form, because a cooperative can itself be an independent economic institution. Not only in the governing economic system, but cooperatives can grow in the capitalist system as well as in the Marxist economic system and can also be implemented in a just and correct economy, such as an Islamic economy.

Therefore, restricting the goals of the cooperatives to the control of capital seems to deviate from these goals. Hence, in the goals of the cooperatives, looking at one ideology is a mistake, because a cooperative is a planning economic system which can grow in any sort of ideology and create its positive results in a society. There are many differing opinions about cooperatives. But a reasonable understanding of the cooperatives can be obtained the four major forms of cooperatives.

In the first form, capital no longer belongs to the members and shareholders, but to the public; it is no longer the private property of shareholders, but considered public property. But the shareholders, through their activities in these cooperatives, are given a fair profit in proportion to their shares or their work, responsibilities, and so on.

These kinds of cooperatives, which are known as government cooperatives, are mostly seen in Marxist systems. Such cooperatives have a particular form that has frightened many people, but they are one form of cooperative which can be used in an Islamic society, within the framework of Islamic regulations and under other special circumstances.

#### Participation of Government

He added: The second kind of cooperative, which is common in many countries today, is supported and encouraged by investments from the private sector. In other words, they affect the profits, part of which is at the disposal of the government; it is ultimately a partnership between the government and the shareholders.

In the third kind of cooperative, investments remain the property of the private sector, but the government is given a share in the profits.

In the fourth kind of cooperative, all the investments and profits of the cooperatives remain at the disposal of the private sector. Nevertheless, one part of the profits is distributed among the shareholders, one part among the management, and one part is put at the service of the cooperative itself.

This kind of cooperative is mostly used in capitalist countries to encourage the private sector to invest in the public welfare of the society. The insignia for this kind of cooperative is usually two hands clasped together.

Usually, those who engage in research on capitalism, that extreme form of cooperatives, or deal with this kind of capitalism do not pay attention to other possible forms in the society.

Many are of the opinion that cooperatives can be an obstacle to nationalization, prevent the society from the sinister abyss of economic Marxism, and also can be a means to safeguard the society from all the sinister effects of capitalism.

Cooperatives have a spiritual aspect, because the social idea that governs them can preserve the spirituality of the society while controlling those two ways of thinking.

Also, cooperatives can prevent inflation in production, inflation in distribution, all the excesses in service issues, and the like. A correct cooperative system can help other sectors of the economy, indeed, the whole economy of a country, and eliminate many problems.

Cooperatives must be appropriate to the needs of the society and the general course of the society. First, should we start from the consumer cooperatives or the production cooperatives? Which is preferable? One cannot judge absolutely.

We must see what the needs of the society are. In our society, is there an issue of distribution, an economic problem? Yes, cooperatives can be started from this point. Is it the problem of production that has brought the society to the abyss of poverty, deprivation or unpleasant inflation? The cooperatives must start from production.

Therefore, absolute views in any instance are wrong. First, the needs of the society must be studied. Many must know that we do not have one prescription to cure the economy of the countries. Anyone that wants to find such a prescription must consider the particulars of that country and, after analysis, begin the task. Of course, I am speaking about the details and not the general points, because this prescription exists in general terms. It can be found in Islam and the ideology of inspiration, but a specific, detailed plan which is a cure for all the economic problems of all countries does not exist.

Fortunately, in our Islamic country, there are many grounds among our generous Muslim nation which can nurture cooperatives. This was a discussion on the subject and nature of cooperatives.

#### Cooperatives and the Constitution

#### 2. Cooperatives from the perspective of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

He added: Essentially, cooperatives in the Constitution have not been considered as a program and an executive task in the economy of the country.

But they have been considered as a sort of ownership. Article 44 of the Constitution has defined ownership in the Islamic Republic in three forms rather than in methods of exchange. Many think that cooperatives are a method of exchange. The Constitution looks at the cooperatives as a kind of ownership, in other words, government ownership, cooperative ownership and private ownership.



Therefore, a cooperative does not mean that, for instance, 10 persons invest equal or different amounts in one place and then own these investments or their profits. What would the difference be between this and private ownership? This would be the same kind of company that exists in the private sector.

A cooperative is different from a company. The kind of cooperatives that exist in other countries with strange insignia can, in fact, be some kind of activity of the private sector. This ambiguity is seen in the Constitutions of most countries. They have interpreted cooperatives to mean a kind of company and a part of the private sector for that matter. Thus, they have considered cooperatives a kind of ownership. This is the case with regard to the Constitutions of some of the Islamic countries, the Western capitalist countries and also the socialist countries and Marxist regimes.

In any case, the Constitution of the Islamic Republic defines three kinds of ownership and places cooperative ownership alongside private and government ownership. By this is meant a kind of collective ownership devoid of the characteristics of private ownership and the kind of collective and general ownership of the government.

Therefore, if we look at cooperatives from this perspective, we find it to be other than what it is now and even was practiced in the previous regime, and which has, unfortunately, continued in the Islamic Republic, because it is not congruent with the spirit of the Constitution. It requires new planning and interpretation to see how cooperatives must be implemented so that they would neither fall into the trap of the government sector nor that of the private sector.

I will not give any more explanations about other areas, because the interpretation of the Constitution is the responsibility of the Council of Guardians and I hope that in the near future the Majlis will reach desirable results by ratifying a comprehensive law about cooperatives upon an interpretation by the Council of Guardians.

#### Cooperatives and Religious Jurisprudential Views

3. Examination of the issue of cooperatives on the basis of religious jurisprudential standards and not Islamic standards.

He added: This issue can be discussed from various perspectives. Cooperatives, even in the four forms that I mentioned, can be acceptable in accordance with religious jurisprudential standards.



The ideological aspect cannot be ignored in the principles of Islamic economy. Many think that Islamic texts, including verses and reported tradition on rejecting the world suggest that the world is a negative thing devoid of any ideological, moral or humane aspects.

I want to say that in the opinion of many thinkers and prominent scholars of Islam, the world and the economy have an ideological aspect.

The world minus God, the world minus human values and the world minus building for the next world is negative. We conclude that a world with God, a world with positive human values, a world on the course of human exaltation and perfection and a world which builds for the next eternal world of human beings is desirable. Therefore, an economy in this world has an ideological and human aspect.

If this is the case, economy in Islam has a particular form. In other words, it is made up of all Islamic issues. Islamic economy is not separate from the Islamic world view and it is not separate from Islamic values. The dominant idea in all Islamic issues is movement from the individual towards the collective, that is, coming out of the self and becoming we.

Movement in all Islamic issues and instructions is from the individual towards the collective, from I to we. And economy is no different from this. Economy in Islam on the basis of this Islamic idea means the unity of the society and the nation.

It is true that Islam approves of private ownership, that is, the private sector. But, my brother and sister, this is not a fundamental law of Islam. The issue of respecting private ownership and the private sector is one of the permissible rules.

The issue of the collectivity of the economy and collective thinking in an Islamic economy must not frighten anyone with regard to private ownership. Private ownership is a divine ruling. When you learn something early in your education, must you stay with it to the end, or must you make it a basis for further learning?

The issue of economic movement from the private sector is a starting point, but it can by no means be the end. Another point is that in the area of "contracts"--and there are many qualified scholars and experts in the Majlis and here--the issue of contracts in general and contracts in Islam is permitted in a general sense, although there are three major views among the religious jurists. Some consider contracts specifically to be religious contracts during the time of the sacred legislator. But there are few who are of this opinion.

Some others say that contracts that have been approved are not the general contracts of the time of the sacred legislator, but are particular contracts that the sacred legislator has attracted. This opinion has few supporters. But the most prevalent opinion is that as long as a treaty or contract is logical and not prohibited by religious law, it is permissible.

Cooperatives in their various forms are a kind of contract which is not prohibited by religious law.

#### Cooperatives and the Role of the Government

##### 4. How to start the operation of cooperatives.

He said: Initially, the government itself can start the cooperatives. How? There is property at the disposal of the government which is public and governmental. Now, the issue in the society which is pursued seriously is the issue of distributing the shares of the profits of the factories among the workers. There would be no problem for the government to change some of the production units at its disposal or its stagnant capital into cooperatives while preserving public or government ownership.

In other words, the potential ready forces can come and operate these investments who are neither government wage earners nor subjugators. They can set into operation these public or government investments or these public or government units which are at the disposal of a particular group and make a fair profit for both themselves and the government. In any case, let them operate on their own, rather than changing them over to the private sector.

The dangerous idea is that the government, due to its needs, should transfer to the private sector some of its industrial and production units or a part of its public or government capital. Would such a step not move from the group to the individual?

Rather than doing this, the government can move towards cooperatives. These units can become group operated cooperatives, and in this way, the government can be the initiator of cooperatives in the society, which is evidently necessary.

In other words, 4,000 people can operate a unit, assured that they will benefit from the work they do. Rather than being wage earners, they become shareholders in the unit.

The second is when the government, as a guide, with all the elements at its disposal, encourages the private sector towards collective work.

The issue of the private sector with a smaller profit is also very important. There are many in the society who are content with small profits, who do not intend to subjugate, who do not intend to accumulate wealth and who want smaller profits while their principle property is protected. Hence, they can also be used to start cooperatives.

Finally, by encouraging individuals who have many financial resources, a step can be taken to expand the cooperatives in order to move their shares in the direction of the public and public interests.

In conclusion, I will add that the cooperative sector complements the government sector in the sense that in the system of Islamic economy and the economic system of the Islamic Republic of Iran, the cooperative system cannot be separate from the government sector. It plays a complementary role in the economy of the Islamic Republic. Also, the government sector can never grow without the cooperative sector. There are cases, such as the property of the Foundation for the Oppressed and the nationalized industries, which can be considered good possibilities for the establishment, development, spread and progress of cooperatives.

I hope, God willing, by completing these discussions, we will witness the examination of the cooperatives law in the Majlis.

#### Cooperative and Credit Ownership

According to this report, the seminar round-table discussion was then held with the participation of Hojjat ol-Eslam Asadollah Bayat, representative of the Majlis; brother Fo'ad Karimi, representative of the Majlis; Sazgarnezhad; and Najafi-'Elmi. Referring to the dimensions of cooperatives in the East and the West as well as in the law, Hojjat ol-Eslam Asadollah Bayat said: These cooperatives are different from one another in their goals, form, method of procuring capital and profit relations.

Considering the essential principles of religious jurisprudence in the government, private and cooperative sectors, there are differences. In connection with cooperatives, there is much discussion. One of those dimensions is ownership.

Our religious jurists have divided ownership in their discussions and reasonings into two groups, credit and actual. Credit ownership itself also includes two parts, public and governmental and then private.

He added: What we are discussing is credit ownership in the Constitution, which provides credit in connection with goods to the individual. Islam also values this credit ownership.

## Creation of Mixed Cooperatives

Fo'ad Karimi, representative of the Majlis, also explained his views on the cooperatives and the existing problems and said:

Essentially, there are various forms of cooperatives in the world, which consist of private ownership in two forms, investment security for the members of production cooperatives and procurment sources for investments, through two kinds of members, employed and unemployed; cooperatives under group ownership; cooperatives under private and group ownership; governmental cooperatives; cooperatives whose investments are provided from public resources; and cooperatives created in mixed form, group and public.

He added: Considering these instances, we must see which one of the above-mentioned forms is more appropriate for our economy. In my opinion, the last case, that is, cooperatives in the mixed form, can be effective for us, because they will prevent both the accumulation of wealth and the power of the government. He then explained the situation of the existing cooperatives in the country.

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CSO: 4640/573

IRAN

ANOTHER GROUP OF IRAQI PRISONERS UNILATERALLY RELEASED

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 29 Apr 85 p 1

[Text] Today the world has witnessed yet another of the Islamic Republic of Iran's humanitarian and Islamic measures; this morning 48 infirm Iraqi prisoners were unilaterally released. These people went to Turkey today, and will leave this country for Iraq through Jalal Ahmar.

KEYHAN Political Service—Today the Islamic Republic of Iran unilaterally freed another 48 infirm Iraqi prisoners. These people were turned over to the Turkish Red Crescent today at Mehrabad Airport in order to go to Iraq by way of this country.

KEYHAN's correspondent reports that the prisoners reported to Mehrabad airport today in high spirits.

Some of these prisoners had been living Iran almost three years.

In a talk with KEYHAN's correspondent, one prisoner thanked Iranian officials for their very good behavior and said: I hope to have another opportunity to travel to the Islamic Republic of Iran and that I will be able to discuss what I learned during this period with Muslim brothers. Our correspondent asked him about his overall memory of his stay in Iran. He answered: The truth is that although we were in the status of prisoners, we were treated as guests. During my stay I had an opportunity to come to know the real Islam, not the Islam that imperialism has tried to promote for years. Believe me, I am not just being polite when I say that I learned something during this period.

Another Iraqi prisoner stressed his interest in the Islamic republic in a talk with KEYHAN's correspondent. Identifying himself as Yusef, he said: I am sorry that world imperialism imposed the war on the Islamic republic, but on the other hand, I am happy because I learned about various things and had the opportunity to study.

KEYHAN's correspondent also reports that this group of prisoners was transferred to Turkey and will go from there to Turkey. Here it is necessary to note that Iran has announced that all infirm Iraqi prisoners have been prepared for release.

In the same connection it is worth mentioning that Prime Minister Engineer Mir Hoseyn Musavi announced at a meeting with the Commission for the Protection of Iranian Missing in Action and Prisoners of war on 6 Esfand of last year [25 Feb 1985]: Iran will unilaterally release all ailing and infirm Iraqi prisoners.



Furthermore, on 21 Esfand of last year [12 Mar 1985] Dr Velayati wrote a letter to the Secretary General of the United Nations. While affirming what was said by the Prime Minister on behalf of the government, he announced the Islamic Republic of Iran's readiness to exchange all those who are prisoners of war according to the Geneva convention. Iraq's regime, however, which fears the return of Iraqi prisoners because of their viewpoint, has given no answer to the Secretary General of the United Nations.

Quoting Rafi' Rasam, secretary of the war propaganda staff, KEYHAN's correspondent reports: Including today's figures, a total of 300 Iraqi prisoners have been released by the Islamic Republic of Iran. The same report says today's release was the sixth phase of the release program.

9310

CSO: 4640/563

## PAKISTAN

### COMMENTARY VIEWS SECURITY PROMISES BY U.S.

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 2 May 85 pp 7-8

[Text]

WHETHER OR NOT the Foreign Office chooses to take official notice of his grave transgression, the U.S. Ambassador in Pakistan has clearly overstepped the bounds of diplomatic propriety by publicly criticising the MRD for its demand that Pakistan should negotiate directly with the Karmal regime for a settlement that would end the trans-border crisis.

Most people in Pakistan feel that such a settlement is urgently required to bring peace to the borderlands, persuade the 2-3 million Afghan refugees to begin their homeward trek, and ensure that Soviet troops can leave Afghanistan—and withdraw the shadow they cast across the Durand Line. With the solitary exception of the Jamaat-i-Islami (for known reasons), all political parties of any standing keenly desire that a solution to the festering problem should be found as soon as possible. They also believe that the best way to reach such an accord is through direct talks between the two Governments. This view has been strengthened by the dawdling proximity talks at Geneva, and the fact that after a "90-per-cent agreement" had been announced and confirmed, the process towards normalization has been halted. On the other hand, the fighting in Afghanistan has been intensified of late, as more sophisticated arms have reportedly been funnelled into the country by U.S. agents. This deadly stalemate with mounting casualties,

with homes, schools or hospitals destroyed, with air attacks and hot pursuit—clearly harms Pakistan, adding to its financial burdens, keeping the door open to dire dangers of involvement in a bigger conflict. If this occurs, whatever its other consequences, Pakistan will be a big loser.

#### The Hinton style

Ambassador Hinton, however, like many of his articulate countrymen (who visit Pakistan even in this foul weather), believes he knows better than we do what is good for our country. No longer excited, as he was over the results of the February elections (not the December Referendum), he is "baffled" by the attitude of the country's political leaders. He will probably be outraged when, as is reportedly expected, 70 elected members move a resolution in the National Assembly calling for direct talks with Afghanistan. This should spark off a national debate on an issue of great importance: as a result the Government may find it necessary to change its policies and go along with the people's will, which calls for peace and friendly cooperation with Afghanistan and other neighbours, irrespective of their systems of government.

With his background and training, it is easy to see why Deane Hinton is no great stickler for diplomatic etiquette; but not even he was expected to be guilty of such blatant interference in Pakistan's domestic

affairs. The fact that his rude remarks about the Opposition were probably meant to protect the present policies of the regime does not in any way mitigate the offence. The U.S. Government and its spokesmen are free in their own domain to castigate the Kabul regime "as a puppet installed by an Imperialist Power" but the Ambassador should not use such language when entering into a debate with what is accepted, by and large, to be the national leadership. It is not for him to decree that any change in Pakistan's approach would "betray three million Afghans seeking refuge in Pakistan". And Pakistan's Government and leaders can decide for themselves whether or not the concessions they expect from Babrak Karmal would accomplish anything. (Here, the American Ambassador did not care to recall America's direct talks with China and Vietnam without granting their governments full recognition). After having said a great deal, it was exceedingly nice of Deane Hinton to state formally that Pakistan was free to decide whether it wanted to negotiate directly with that Government or not. May be the Foreign Office will take the Ambassador at his word and speed up the process of negotiations with Kabul.

Whatever his style, Deane Hinton was merely carrying out his Government's policies. For decades, U.S. foreign policy has taken twists and turns which have surprised all friends of America who admire its Founding Fathers for their political

philosophy and for establishing the first real democracy in the Western world. It seems that since America's greatest modern and longest-serving President died before completing the task he had shouldered, namely, defeating the Axis Powers and creating an international organization that would help rid the world of the scourge of war, the United States has relapsed into a period of greedy chaos. The world has been treated to a series of Doctrines and Deals and Plans, none of which aim at anything less than establishing U.S. hegemony on the strength of the wealth acquired during World War II. Often, the dominant political thinking has been a strange amalgam of evangelical self-righteousness and the brazen arrogance of formidable muscle power, made dangerous by a suspicion of intellectual leadership which was denigrated by contemptuous name-calling—such as the eggheads. America's drift started with the post-Roosevelt era, and was speeded up when people like the Dulles Brothers began to talk in terms of Iron Curtains and of rolling back the red carpet. Lacking the confidence to engage in peaceful competition, World War III was put on the agenda. Even more ghastly has been the refusal to acknowledge that the whole character of war changed on August 6, 1945, when the atom bomb was exploded over Hiroshima, and later when the West lost its monopoly of this terrible weapon. War can no longer be used an instrument of political policy because the threat and use of force if acted upon can only mean a total war which will spell total destruction.

Although gradually public opinion in the West, including the United States, is beginning to catch up with the consequences of the technological advance, and the millions demanding a freeze or ban on nuclear weapons provide evidence of sanity, this understanding has not yet rea-

ched the portals of Western chancelleries. Hence, forgetting the verbiage, the fact remains that protection American style has many risks for countries which value their freedom.

"I wish you hadn't saved me".

This reminds one of a story which everyone acquainted with frontier lore will confirm as authentic; any doubter may ask Wali Khan. A Pathan in the lowly service of the Raj was eager for promotion and praise. As a minor factotum, he used to ride along with the Deputy Commissioner when Sahib went out on inspection. This offered a perfect opportunity to improve his prospects. A band of friendly marksmen was hired to fire at the Sahib and his entourage. When the first shot was heard, Allah Nawaz (our hero) pounced on the Deputy Commissioner, knocked him off his horse and covered the Sahib's body with his own. Bullets flew all around him, but (miraculously) no-one was hit. When the guards fired back, the miscreants fled into the bush. The Sahib dusted himself and embraced Allah Nawaz for saving his life.

Thereafter, many doors opened to Allah Nawaz. Years passed. When his first son passed the examination then considered sufficient for Government service, Allah Nawaz presented him to the Sahib; employment was found for the son of such a loyal servant. A few years later, the second son grew up, the scenario was re-enacted, and a better job was found because the Sahib had by now become a Commissioner. Later, when Allah Nawaz turned up for the third or fourth time, the Sahib lost his cool and shouted: "Dammit Allah Nawaz, I wish you had not saved my life".

If the present situation continues, one fears that the time will come when the people of Pakistan will say: "Uncle Sam, we wish you had not protected us".

PAKISTAN

PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH USSR FOR BARTER TRADE

GF191220 Karachi DAWN in English 17 May 85 p 4

[Text] Islamabad, 16 May--Pakistan and the Soviet Union have signed a fresh protocol for barter trade between the two countries.

The protocol, which is valid for the current year, identifies a number of items for export and import between Pakistan and the Soviet Union.

The protocol was signed here Wednesday afternoon by Mr Mukhtar Masood, secretary, commerce on behalf of Pakistan, who led Pakistan's side at talks. Mr V. Smirnov, the ambassador of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic, who led the Soviet delegation at the trade talks signed the document on behalf of USSR.

Under the protocol, items which could be exported from the USSR to Pakistan during 1985, include equipment and spare for steel mills, electric motors, starters and spare parts, equipment and spare parts for the OGDC [Oil and Gas Development Corporation], spare parts for machinery and equipment, machine tools, workshop equipments, power and electro technical equipment, including power transformers power generating sets, turbines, electronic motors, electrical measuring instruments, diesel generating sets and others and tyres and tubes of agricultural tractors, trucks and dumpers.

Items which could be exported from Pakistan to the USSR, include among others cotton textiles, readymade garments, including cotton and mixed fabric shirts, lady blouses and jeans and others, cotton madeups, including bed-linens and towels, cotton yarn, spectacle frames, pig iron (conversion grade), woollen yarn, scarves and shawls, hoisery, tapestry, blankets, surgical instruments, sports goods, minerals e.g. onyx, marble, rock salt, chrome and maganese ore, gem stones and jewelery etc.

Earlier, both the delegations held indepth negotiations for about an hour to form up their proposals for the protocol.

CSO: 4600/447

PAKISTAN

SOVIET UNION NAMES NEW AMBASSADOR

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 1 May 85 p 1

[Article by Salim Bokhari]

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, April. 30: The Soviet Union has decided to appoint a Muslim as its new Ambassador to Pakistan replacing Vitaly Smirnov who is scheduled to return to Moscow next month, it was reliably learnt here today.

The new Ambassador, whose name has already been sent to the Foreign Office for clearance, is Abdur Rehman Viziroy from Azerbaijan. This is the second time that the Soviet Union is sending a Muslim as Ambassador to Pakistan. Smirnov's predecessor, Surwar Azimov, was from Uzbekistan.

In his early fifties, Mr. Viziroy has been an important Communist Party official in Azerbaijan which is one of the six Central Asian Muslim Republics in Soviet Union — the others being Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kirghizia and Turkmenia. Abdur Rehman Viziroy was Secretary of the Young Communist League in Azerbaijan before joining the Foreign Ministry in Moscow.

He is a specialist on South Asia, having served as Soviet Consul General in Calcutta and at present as USSR Ambassador in Nepal.

It may be added that two Muslims are also currently represented in the Communist Party's highest decision-making body, the Politburo. They include Geidar Aliyev from Azerbaijan and Noor Mohammad Kunayev from Kazakhstan. A third Muslim Politburo member, Sh. Rashidov, who died recently, was from Uzbekistan. It may be mentioned that the majority of the population of Azerbaijan, bordering Iran, is Shia.



18 June 1985

## PAKISTAN

## CHAIRPERSON OF JIYE SIND TEHRİK CLARIFIES PARTY STAND ON AUTONOMY

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 1 May 85 pp 1, 8

[Text]

KARACHI, April 30: Dr. Hamida Khoro, the new Chairperson of the Jiye Sind Tehrik has said that the JST will create 'pressure groups' within the Parliament and Provincial Assemblies to achieve its 9-point programme pertaining to the rights of the people of Sind.

She told questioners that the JST now stood for achieving the rights of Sindhi people within the framework of Pakistan but would fight for maximum provincial autonomy based on the formula that except for four subjects the rest should go to the provinces, including the residuary powers.

Addressing a news conference here this morning, she said after the reconstitution of the working committee of the JST under her chairmanship, the Tehrik will launch a peaceful campaign for redress of grievances of the Sindhi people within and outside the present elected Assemblies. She said she was hopeful of a good response by MNAs, MPAs and Senators.

Replying to a question, she said the Tehrik was not only against Martial Law but also opposed the amendments introduced in the 1973 Constitution on March 2.

She said the JST was not satisfied with the quantum of autonomy as provided in the 1973 Constitution and therefore was in

favour of a new constitution.

Asked if she had statistics in regard to unemployment in Sind, she said she could not give exact figures off hand but she knew that at least 6,000 doctors alone and twice as many engineers were jobless. If the figures of unemployed graduates and matriculates were to be included, the total figure would be around one lakh, she added.

She said over 100 Sindhi students were behind the bars and demanded a high-level judicial inquiry into the recent incidents at the Liaquat Medical College.

Dr. Hamida Khoro denied a suggestion that Mr. G.M. Sayed had now made up with the present regime.

Asked to comment on Mr. Jatoti's reported remark that Mr. Sayed "is now talking more of Sayeds of Sind than about Sind" she said she did not think that Mr. Jatoti had made such a remark. "Mr. Sayed is one of the founders of Pakistan and he continues to fight for the rights of the people of Sind", she declared.

About the point of difference between the JST and the MRD she said the MRD's stand was rather vague but if the latter fought for the rights of Sindhi

people the JST would cooperate with it.

Her comment on the London-based Sindhi-Baluch-Pakhtoon Front was "Let us see what they are upto and then we will decide".

On Karachi's recent incidents, she said the matter was now sub judice and therefore she was not in a position to comment on it.

She expressed JST's serious concern over the continued migration of population into Sind from outside and said it must be checked effectively and the other provinces must share the burden already borne by Sind financially and otherwise.

Asked why her written statement and 9-point programme was silent on the question of foreign policy, she said the JST stood for non-alignment and improving ties with the neighbours.

Replying to another question she said she was in favour of "direct talks with the Kabul government and a peaceful settlement of the Afghan issue so that the Afghan refugees, who are burden on our resources, should be sent back".

CSO: 4600/446

PAKISTAN

NEW NWFP CABINET FORMED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 1 May 85 p 1

[Article by Murtaza Malik]

[Text]

PESHAWAR, April 30: The long-awaited provincial Cabinet of the North West Frontier Province comprising 11 Ministers was sworn in here this afternoon. Governor Fazle Haq administered the oath.

The ceremony held in the Darbar Hall of the Government House was attended among others by Chief Minister Arbab Mohammad Jehangir and some of the Ministers of the outgoing Cabinet. They included Pir of Zakori and Nawab Ali Khan, who incidentally were defeated in the Provincial Assembly election, and Syed Zafar Ali Shah who lost the National Assembly election.

The composition of the Cabinet brought no major surprises. With the exception of one or two, the others in the list were all hot favourites. However the number did cause a little surprise as according to earlier confirmed reports the first-phase number should have been five. The Ministers and their portfolios are:

Sanaullah Miankhal (Transport and Jails).

Mohsin Ali Khan (Industries, Commerce, Mineral Resources and Labour).

Mian Jamal Shah (Agriculture).

Maulana Abdul Baqi (Religious Affairs, Aqaf and Ushr).

Shujaat Ali Khan (Local Government Election and Rural Development).

Haji Mohammad Javed (Physical Planning and Housing).

Mian Mohammad Iqbal (Sports, Culture and Tourism).

Babur Nasim (Food).

Mohammad Ayub Tunoli (Education).

Colonel Noor Badshah (Irriga-

tion and Public Health Engineering).

Ihsanullah Khan (Health and Social Welfare).

The Chief Ministers bag included Home, Service and General Administration, Finance, Information, Revenue, Communications and Works and Law and Parliamentary Affairs.

In an informal chat with newsmen after the swearing in, Arbab said that two to three Ministers would be taken after the budget session which was likely to be held in the last week of May. Parliamentary Secretaries, he added, could also be appointed provided there was a constitutional provision. The Governor at this stage intervened to point out that the Constitution was silent on the subject.

Arbab said that for the time being it was not intended to take any advisers or a lady minister.

He told another questioner that different factors, including political support, had been kept in view while picking the incumbents. He said no significant administrative changes were envisaged at the moment and these will take place in the normal course.

PAKISTAN

NEW PUNJAB CABINET FORMED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 1 May 85 p 1

[Text]

LAHORE, April 30: A 15-member Punjab Cabinet was sworn in here today, including two lady members. The oath was administered by provincial Governor Lt. Gen. Ghulam Jilani Khan at an impressive ceremony held on the evening, on the lawns of the Governor's House. Chief Minister Nawaz Sharif, judges of the Lahore High Court, members of National and Provincial Assemblies and high-ranking officials were present.

The Governor has appointed the ministers of provincial cabinet under Article 132 of Constitution, on the advice of the Chief Minister.

The names of the provincial Ministers and their respective departments are as under:

Makhdoom Altaf Ahmad (Finance, Additional charge Excise).  
Sardar Arif Rashid (Agriculture)

Mrs. Sajida Nayyar (Livestock and Dairy Development).

Raja Iqbal Mehdi (Forestry, Wildlife and Fisheries).

Mr. Abdul Razaq (Irrigation and Power).

Mr. Ghulam Hyder Wyne (Industries and Mineral Development Additional charge Labour Welfare).  
Syed Afzaal Ali Shah (Health).  
Mehar Ghulam Dastgir (Food).  
Ch. Pervez Elahi (Local Government and Rural Development).

Mr. Abdul Ghafoor (Law).  
Mr. Saeed Ahmad Khan (Communication and Works).

Mr. Saeed Ahmad Qureshi (Zakat and Ushr).

Malik Khuda Bakhsh Khan (Aqaf).

Mr. Mohammad Iqbal (Revenue, Relief and Consolidation, and Colonies).

Miss Shaheen Atiqur Rehman (Social Welfare and Women's Division).

For the time being, the Chief Minister will be looking after the following portfolios/departments:

Home, Services and General Administration, Information, Culture and Tourism, Planning and Development, Education and Sports, Housing, Physical and Environmental Planning, Cooperatives and Transport.

After the oath-taking ceremony, Mian Nawaz Sharif, talking to the newsmen, said that some areas were not yet represented in the Cabinet. He specifically mentioned the name of D.G. Khan in this connection.

The Chief Minister observed that the Assembly would be kept away from 'negative politics' but positive and constructive criticism would be welcomed.

He said that for the smooth running of the Assembly, Parliamentary Secretaries would be appointed. He expected the budget session to start in the last week of May.

Referring to the problems of the people, he said that after the formation of the Cabinet, the Ministers would make extensive tours of the province to sort out the problems of the people. The Chief Minister said that he was sure that the members of the Assembly would play a very important role, and would come up to the expectations of the people. He said that the demands of MRD were not the demands of the people.

According to PPI, Makhdoom Hassan Mahmood, member of the Punjab Assembly, said here today that his role would be of constructive opposition.

Talking to newsmen at the Governor's House after the swearing in ceremony of the Punjab Cabinet, he said he had always played a constructive role in the opposition and would continue to do so.

PAKISTAN

INTERNAL RIFTS DISCUSSED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 2 May 85 p 9

[Article by Ayaz Amir]

[Text]

THANKS to the two or three Pakistani correspondents based in London, the Sindhi-Baluchi-Pashtoon Front (SBPF) is receiving far greater attention and publicity than it deserves. Although people by and large are just not interested in the views of Mumtaz Bhutto or Ghulam Mustafa Khar, unseasonal statements from these leaders are being rammed down their throats every other day. To judge from this glare of publicity, one would think that there was no other problem that the country faced.

A confederation may be a very good idea, and there may be compelling reasons to raise it at this stage. But the fact is that apart from Attallah Mengal who can be called a committed and sincere confederationist, the motives of the other leading protagonists of the Front are not above suspicion. Mumtaz Bhutto, for example, has his own axe to grind. His main problem is Jatol whom he can't stand. In order to bolster their position at the expense of Jatol, he and Hafeez Pirzada are trying to be more radical than Marx.

Explanation wanted

Quite apart from the merits of the confederation front, Mumtaz Bhutto and those who are with him on this issue owe an explanation to the party for having made a mockery of party discipline. Members or even leaders of a political party

do not normally issue policy statements whenever they feel like it. Charting and then enunciating a policy course is a collective function of the entire party. If Mumtaz Bhutto felt so strongly about the confederation issue, he should have raised it within the party and tried to bring his colleagues round to his point of view. If he had then felt that he was getting nowhere, he could have resigned and pursued his own course. That would have been the proper thing to do. Instead, he has chosen to remain within the party and at the same time adopt a position at variance with party policy. He is thus responsible for sowing confusion in the ranks of the PPP.

The Acting Chairperson of the party has her hands full in trying to create order out of chaos. She has taken the first hesitant steps in the direction of building an effective organisation but obviously, given the mind-boggling problems she inherited, she has a long way to go. One would have thought that the prime need of the hour as far as the PPP was concerned was to strengthen her hands. But Mumtaz Bhutto and his friends are doing just the opposite and are therefore guilty of a grave disservice to the party.

Ex-lion of Punjab

Up in arms against them has arisen the scarcely more attractive figure of Malik Ghulam Mustafa Khar, ex-lion of the Punjab who still

has not forsaken his dreams of being the Punjab's redeemer. His motives, too, are not above suspicion. Instead of taking the front leaders to task for violating party discipline, he has come out against them from the standpoint of a champion of the Punjab. He has likened the demand for a confederation to a betrayal of the Punjab and the undoing of Pakistan.

It is no secret that there is an underpinning chauvinism in the Punjab which rises to the surface whenever there is any mention of the rights of the smaller provinces. Khar is trying to exploit that sentiment not out of any great regard for principles but simply as a matter of political expediency. If he had genuine reservations about the policy of the SBFP, he should have discussed these within the party and if there was any need for denunciation it should have been done by the party and not by him. Since he has done nothing of the kind, he, too, has violated party discipline.

It should be obvious that if anyone is entitled to make policy statements in London, it is either Miss Benazir Bhutto or the party's advisory committee. But the trouble is that since 1979, every party baron has been a kingdom unto himself and the tendency to shoot from the hip has become quite entrenched. It is time this tendency was curbed. After all, the party has braved adverse winds for the last eight years and if some of its more obvious weaknesses are not to be reformed now they will never be reformed in future.

Mumtaz Bhutto is reportedly returning to Pakistan. If he does return, his presence can be expected to have a divisive influence on the party's Central Committee. This effect should be resisted.

### Bedevilling problems

The dispute over this question really highlights some of the problems bedevilling the PPP at the top. If the truth were told many of the leaders who held high office under Mr Bhutto have not taken kindly to Miss Benazir Bhutto's elevation as party leader. Mumtaz Bhutto sees himself as the father of Sindhi nationalism, and Ghulam Mustafa Khar looks upon himself as the Punjab's ultimate saviour. Both nurse huge ambitions but they should realise that minus the PPP their leadership amounts to nothing. Khar, especially, should realise that he will never shine except as a No. 2. As Mr. Bhutto's lieutenant he was brilliant. But the moment he set off on his own, he zoomed out of control like an unguided missile. At present he has assumed the role of Jatol's No. 2. If he is wise, he should stick to this arrangement.

The old figureheads of the PPP have really outlasted the days of their glory and are now trying to resurrect a role for themselves which rightfully belongs to the new breed of party workers who attained political maturity when the fortunes of the party had touched their nadir. The sooner this is understood the better for all concerned.



PAKISTAN

BRIEFS

FRG AID ANNOUNCED--Federal Germany has announced an aid of DM 230 million for Pakistan to help improve energy supply, particularly through Tarbela Dam. It has also made available DM 20 million to Pakistan for the construction of a hospital for Afghan refugee children and a distribution network for pottable water to the refugees. [Text] [Karachi Domestic Service in English 1700 GMT 17 May 85 BK]

CSO: 4600/447

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9 July 85